REMINISCENCES

OF

Twelve Years' Residence

IN

TASMANIA AND NEW SOUTH WALES;
NORFOLK ISLAND AND MORETON BAY;
CALCUTTA, MADRAS, AND CAPE TOWN;
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;
AND THE CANADAS.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS ATKINS,

FORMERLY A CHAPLAIN AT THE PENAL SETTLEMENT OF NORFOLK ISLAND, IN THE TERRITORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, AND IN CALCUTTA;
A PRESBYTER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, OF PROTESTANT, EVANGELICAL, AND CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES.

MALVERN:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE "ADVERTISER" OFFICE,
EDITH WALK.

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PREFACE.

In the following pages the facts narrated, the scenes described, and the characters delineated, passed for review before the writer between March, 1836, and June, 1847. And since the latter time these scenes having been often recalled to his mind by the influence of a strong and retentive memory, they have been analysed and generalised, arranged and combined, at his pleasure. But it was not until May, 1857, that the Author received the inspiration and procured the leisure to write his impressions of historical facts and scenes of nature; of developments of social and religious life; and of sketches of individual character. And then, being destitute of written notes, or of books of reference, of maps or charts, he had to depend for the intellectual materials for writing a narrative of ten years' residence in Australia and India on a memory stored with facts, deeply impressed with natural scenery and scenes in social life, with judgments formed on important subjects in connection with the social system and with political economy; and with ecclesiastical and religious establish-

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ments. From the laboratory of his memory, the analysis of character was formed; and, aided by the science of mental and moral chemistry, suitable tests were applied to develope in bold relief the peculiar characteristics of public and private men. Therefore the narrative of the Author exhibits for public indignation and abhorrence the mercenary and diabolical vices of some notorious convicts; the excellencies and defects of civil and military governors; the virtues and vices of Christian missionaries; and the glory and dishonour of Prelates of the Church of England. The sources whence the writer has obtained the materials for his narrative are mentioned, not to deprecate criticism, for impartial criticism he invites, but to apprise the reader of the circumstances under which the volume was written. These pages were, from the impressions of a powerful and retentive memory, penned during a few hours a day, within the period of three months, while engaged at Manchester in open air preaching several times a week, and dependent on his literary labour for the means of subsistence. Hence, these unfavourable circumstances may, in some measure, excuse defects in the arrangement of the materials, too much brevity on some topics, and a prolixity on others. However, the Author trusts that, through the aid of criticism, of reflection, and leisure, these blemishes will dis-

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appear in the second edition of the narrative. The Author offers no apology for the severity of his strictures on public measures, or on the characters of public men; for these he regards as public property, and therefore treats them accordingly. In conclusion, he hopes that the readers of the narrative will experience as much pleasure and profit in the perusal of it as the Author has in the arrangement of the materials, and in the writing of the volume. And with these explanatory remarks, he begs to take leave of his subscribers and readers until the appearance of a second edition of the narrative.

THOMAS ATKINS.

SINCE writing the preceding lines, the Author, in the early part of 1861, spent several months of leisure in New York, the Empire City of the United States of America. Afterwards, in the same eventful year in the history of the Model Republic, he made a tour of inspection and observation through the Canadas. In the following pages he presents to his thousand subscribers, and the public in general, the results of his labours.

March 29th, 1869. T. A.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I.

PASSAGE TO HOBART TOWN.

Embarkation at Gravesend—Lying in the Downs—Call at Cowes—Detention at Plymouth—Peak of Teneriffe—The Coast of Tasmania—The River Derwent.

About the noon of Sunday, the 20th of March, 1836, I boarded the bark Red Rover, at Gravesend, for a passage to Sydney, *via* Hobart Town. At that time all hands on board were employed in shipping stores and live stock; and the bank of the Thames presented a scene suitable for a market or a fair, but little in accordance with the sanctity of the Lord's day. Having completed these operations, and the pilot having taken charge of the vessel, we weighed anchor, and about three o'clock proceeded, with the ebbing tide, down the river, and, having for several nights in succession cast anchor, on the following Wednesday we arrived in the Downs, when the pilot took leave of us, with his best wishes for a prosperous voyage. From Wednesday, the 23rd instant, to Sunday, the 3rd of April, we lay in the Downs, obstructed in our course by the vernal Equinoctial gales, and apparently dying of sea

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sickness: with Deal on our right, the Goodwin Sands on our left, and the cliffs of Calais in sight from the bows of the bark. During that detention of eleven days, the tedium was relieved, fear was excited, and hope was inspired, by the various objects which came within the range of our vision: namely, the wrecks on the Goodwin Sands, and the visits of the intrepid Deal boatmen. These men, who were cradled on the bosom of the ocean and rocked by the storm, run out in all weathers, ready at the signal of distress to brave any dangers to aid in the preservation of human life and of valuable property; and while life and property are protected by such brave hearts and strong arms, Albion need not fear any invader. About ten o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 3rd of April, orders were given to shake out the reefs from the sails, and to take up the anchor; but, before these orders were obeyed, a brig ran foul of the Rover, and during the concussion and collision mutual injuries were inflicted. The assailant received damage to her rigging, and snapped her bowsprit across the larboard bows of the assailed. The bark sustained injury in her chains and quarter gallery; and to escape from the embraces of the brig, the order was given to slip the anchor, with about thirty fathoms of cable. Having, however, got clear of the brig, and being fairly on

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our way, our captain, who, though a low, brutal, and illiterate man, was, in part, owner of the vessel, gave instructions to proceed on a voyage of *fifteen thousand miles*, with only one anchor, and with damaged chains; and, therefore, influenced by cupidity, he resolved to jeopardize the cargo of the bark, and the lives of the crew and passengers. The chief-officer, however, having in the hearing of some of the passengers, expressed his disapproval of this order, and his apprehension of the consequences, the passengers drew up and signed a document, in which they protested against his purpose; requested the captain to run into one of the Channel ports for repairs and another anchor; and, in the event of his refusal, demanded to be put ashore, with the return of their passage-moneys. The perusal of that document, and the remonstrance of the chief mate, brought the old brute to bay, and he gave the requisitionists a promise that he would comply with their first request. And here I would advise intending emigrants, before, for several months, they place their property and lives in the hands of a sea despot, that they learn something of his character for humanity, courtesy, and honesty; and also of the quality, the accommodations, and supplies of the vessel under his command; for, from personal experience, I can confidently affirm, of

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many shippers, owners, and masters of emigrant ships, that, having their vessels, property, and lives insured for more than their value, they are, through the influence of selfishness, regardless of the property, the comfort, and lives of the passengers.

On Tuesday, the 5th of April, we sighted the Isle of Wight, steered for the western point, entered the Needles, skirted the southern coast, and anchored off Cowes; and between then and the following Sunday the injuries to the bark had been repaired, a new anchor, with cable, had been procured, and, as a peace offering to the irritated passengers, a supply of fresh provisions had been taken on board. But when on the Sunday morning, the 10th instant, the order was given to the crew to make sail and weigh anchor, they presented to the captain a request to be allowed an additional supply of small stores, comprising tea and coffee, sugar and tobacco, which they engaged to pay for out of their wages. This reasonable request having been refused, they hoisted the Blue Peter, as a signal to the commander of one of her Majesty's vessels, then at anchor in harbour. In reply to the signal a boat was sent by the officer in charge, and the crew of the Rover returned in it to enter the royal navy; and, as another crew could not be procured at Cowes, the commander of the bark hired eight

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Cowes men to take the vessel down the Channel to Plymouth. But as the wind blew in the teeth of the Rover, four days were spent in beating down the Channel.

On Thursday, the 14th of April, we anchored in Plymouth Sound, and next *seven* days were consumed in engaging a crew, in fishing the bowsprit, and in taking in another supply of fresh provisions. However, on the 21st of April, the *thirty-second* day after we left Gravesend, the anchor of the Rover was weighed, and her sails were spread to the breeze; and for eleven years I bid adieu to the shores of Great Britain. Though since that "adieu to my native land," one and twenty years have passed away, yet the reminiscence of the scene revives in my bosom the almost desponding emotions I felt when, by the progress of the vessel, the cliffs of Cornwall were hid from my vision. For some days we were favoured with a fair wind, and sailed in a south-westerly course, and when in the latitude of the Cape de Verd islands, the temperature, early in May, was at summer heat.

At the dawn of one of the mornings in May, the officer in charge of the vessel informed the passengers that the Peak of Teneriffe was in sight. This pleasing announcement soon brought all of them on to the poop. The morning was fine, the atmosphere was clear, the sun rose

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with majestic splendour, and the top of a cloud was seen below the head of the peak. During several hours this magnificent and sublime spectacle of nature was far within the range of our vision, and when we passed the towering peak our distance from it did not exceed fifteen miles; though, in clear weather, it is visible at least forty miles. This rock rears its head 12,000 feet above the level of the sea; and, therefore, the height of the celebrated peak is two miles and a quarter. Indeed, throughout my travels, having seen Mount Wellington, near Hobart Town, and the Table Mountain, near Cape Town; Mount Pitt, in Norfolk Island, and the wondrous beauties of Torres and Bass's Straits; the east, north, and southern coasts of New Holland, the Hooghly mouth of the Ganges, and the magnificent coast of southern Africa; yet, among all these natural objects of the sublime, grand, and beautiful, no one of them can bear a comparison with the Peak of Teneriffe.

The Equator was crossed at about five knots an hour, and the captain permitted, on a moderate scale, the festivities of Neptune; but to escape personal indignities, I promised the crew a sovereign, which I paid on our arrival at Hobart Town.

While running down our latitude, through adverse

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winds, we were driven to the west of Greenwich forty degrees; and when, in about 45° south latitude, we steered in an easterly direction for the port of Hobart Town. For at least two months westerly winds prevailed; and at intervals they blew so strong as to require doubled reefed topsails, the sailing under bare poles, the lying to, and three men at the wheel. Sometimes the sea was awfully grand, at others beautifully picturesque, and the beauty was heightened by flocks of Cape pigeons, and the grandeur was increased by the circular flights of the majestic Albatross. My vivid recollections of this part of the voyage often impress me with the truth of the Psalmist's description: "They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters: these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. For he commandeth and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof. They mount up to the heavens, they go down again to the depths: their soul is melted because of trouble. They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wit's end. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses. He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still. Then are they glad because they be quiet; so he bringeth them unto

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their desired haven. Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men."

To be satisfied in regard to our real position in the ocean, we made a few degrees northing, to sight the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam, and in this attempt we succeeded; for one morning, late in August or the beginning of September, the islands were distinctly seen to the north of us. Having obtained that satisfaction, we shaped our course south-west in the direction of the passage for Hobart Town. About the 8th of September, the south-western coast of Tasmania appeared in view; and when we were distant from the main land about six miles, the atmosphere was impregnated with odoriferous particles of the vernal vegetation, which, after, for *about a hundred and forty* days having seen scarcely any other objects than the sea and sky, with the inhabitants of air and water, we feasted our eyes on the vegetation along the coast, and inhaled, with pleasurable emotions, the fragrance of the air. When we came in sight of the coast of Tasmania, we had not a spare sail to set, and some that were in use were torn almost to ribbons. In this enfeebled condition, it was providential for us that a strong breeze from the south did not blow, or we

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should have been in danger of driving on the shore; but, instead of this, a land breeze blew, and under its influence, by cautious tacking, we entered Adventure, and then Storm Bay, and ultimately the River Derwent. The Derwent, however, from Storm Bay to the mouth of the harbour of Hobart Town, more resembles a succession of bays than a river. But the scenery on either bank and in the background, by the union of the sublime and beautiful, presents a majestic appearance.

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CHAPTER II.

TASMANIA.

Hobart Town—Mount Wellington—Sir George Arthur—The Interior of the Island—The Aboriginal Tribes—The Assignment System.

On the night, if I mistake not, of the 15th of September, we cast anchor in the front of Hobart Town, and sufficiently near it to see some of the principal buildings. Having an introductory letter to one of the most respectable and wealthy residents of the town, the next morning I went ashore and presented my letter, which procured me an invitation to become the guest of the gentleman while the Rover remained in port; and having, during nearly six months, been confined in a place which Dr. Johnson describes as "worse than a prison," no arguments were required to persuade me to accept the invitation. The unfortunate bark having to discharge, and to dispose of a considerable portion of her cargo at Hobart Town, she was detained in that port six weeks before she completed her passage by sailing to Sidney.

The harbour of Hobart Town is capacious, and the

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scenery on its shores is picturesque. It is land-locked, and forms, in appearance, a capacious basin or small lake. In one part of the background is seen Mount Nelson, and at a short distance from it Wellington Mountain raises its lofty head some 6,000 feet above the level of the sea; and this giant of nature performs for the residents of Hobart Town the office of a barometer. When his head is concealed by a dense fog he does not invite either equestrians or pedestrians to visit him, lest they should be lost in the labyrinths which intercept his summit. The concealment of his head by a dense cloud or heavy fog indicates rain, or a snow storm; and, caught in these, some adventurers have lost their lives. Not possessing a taste for climbing mountains, I never attempted to ascend to the summit of Wellington Mountain, yet, had I encountered and surmounted the difficulties of an ascent, the magnificent panorama of sea and land which would have spread open before my vision would have been an ample recompense for the toil.

Hobart Town is laid out on a magnificent scale; long and wide streets run parallel, and others of equal dimensions cut them at right angles. In 1836 the town presented an infantile and unfinished appearance; the number of inhabitants did not exceed 15,000, including

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government servants, free and bond. The government house was a modest and unpretending edifice; there were two churches in the town, and one in the suburb of New Town; and also a Scotch church, two Independent chapels, and a Methodist chapel.

The Governor, Sir George Arthur, who presided over the Colony of Tasmania during the long period of twelve years, bore a high character for the exhibition of moral and religious principle, for administrative talents, and for personal and domestic virtues. He was the patron and president of some of the religious and benevolent societies; and, during my stay at Hobart Town, the Governor presided at a public meeting, in the proceedings of which I took a part. The police regulations were admirably conducted; and the streets on Sundays, in regard to quietness, resembled a country town in Scotland. In connexion with Hobart Town there was a penal settlement at Port Arthur, on, I think, the south-western coast, celebrated as a prison of Smith O'Brian and Frost.

During the detention, accompanied by a friend, I made excursions for about fifty miles into the interior of the island; and during two journeys on horseback, visited the towns of Richmond and Hamilton, of Bothwell and New Norfolk.

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In the districts I visited, the soil and climate much resembled those of England. The Derwent wheat and potatoes are celebrated, and obtain a high price in the Sydney market. The fruits which are matured are of the English kinds. Apples are exported from Hobart Town to Sydney, and oranges are exported from Sydney to Hobart Town.

When, in 1836, I visited Tasmania, the aboriginal natives were almost extinct; though, about 1820, they contended with the settlers and the colonial authorities for supremacy. Indeed, from a large induction of facts, it seems to me to be an universal law in the Divine government, when savage tribes, who live by hunting and fishing, and on the wild herbs, roots, and fruits of the earth, come into collision with civilised races of men, whose avocations are the depasturing of flocks and herbs, agricultural employments, and commercial pursuits, that the savage tribes disappear before the progress of the civilised races. Their means of precarious subsistence are destroyed, sanguinary feuds exist between them and the colonists, they acquire habits of intoxication, and contract loathsome and incurable diseases; and, by this united agency, in one or two generations the aborigines become extinct. Indeed, they have not complied with the con-

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ditions on which "the Lord of the whole earth" granted to the first progenitors of our race this habitable world: "For God blessed them, and God said unto them, be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and *subdue* it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." By these statements, however, I do by no means justify the avaricious and unjust, the inhuman and murderous conduct of many of the original settlers and colonists of Tasmania, who, by occupying the lands which formed the hunting grounds of the natives, deprived them of the means of subsistence, and when in retaliation, and urged by the cravings of hunger, the latter pilfered the property of the former, by taking a couple of fowls, a sheep or a bullock, they shot them as native dogs; hunted them down like wild beasts; and destroyed them wholesale by means of poisoned food: for it was by the employment of such diabolical means that the native tribes of Tasmania have become extinct. But a day of retribution will come, when the righteous Judge of the whole earth "will make an inquisition for blood."

In 1836, the period of my visit to Tasmania, the wretched remains of the native tribes, who a generation before comprised perhaps 15,000, numbered 106, including

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men, women, and children; and these, by the personal influence of Mr. Robinson, the government protector of Aborigines, had been collected together, deprived of their natural freedom, and placed under surveillance on Flinder's Island, in Bass's Straits. Here I simply state the facts; I do not blame the arrangements of the government, for, under the circumstances of the colony, it might have been the best plan that could be adopted to preserve a few relics of the aboriginal race, for an instrumentality was used to make those children of the forest civilised, educated, and christian men and women.

In the districts of Tasmania I visited, there was on the banks of the Derwent rich alluvial soil; good forest land, heavily timbered; beautiful plains, presenting in their native state the appearance of English parks. And then at the end of September, or the beginning of October, the spring of Tasmania, the plains were adorned with the blossoms of the mimosa. The farms seldom exceeded in size a section, or 640 acres of land. In general a few acres of it were cultivated, and the remainder was appropriated for the depasturing of sheep, cattle, and horses. At first the allotments of land were divided into parts by log, and afterwards by rail fences. The settlers, as a class, were persons of industry, intelligence, and integrity, employed

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in the improvement of their farms, not engaged in rash and fraudulent speculations. The assignment system was in full operation, for a large majority of the domestic servants in the towns, and of the pastoral and agricultural labourers in the interior, were prisoners, of the crown, lent, on certain conditions, to the residents and settlers.

But the assignment system, though it was productive of many pecuniary advantages, both to masters and servants, yet, through the influence of human depravity, was prolific of much social and moral evil. It was a system of domestic slavery. Masters, indeed could not with impunity inflict corporal punishment on their servants; but, by harshness and arrogance, they might provoke them to be impertinent, and then, on the charge of impertinence by the masters, made on oath before a district magistrate, the offenders were liable to receive fifty lashes; and this punishment was often inflicted. The consequences were, frequent desertions, the taking to the bush, and the associations of bushrangers. Robberies were committed, murders were perpetrated, the expensive establishment of a mounted police was formed and supported, and many Anglo-Saxons, with brave hearts and strong arms, who, under a more just and humane system of treatment, might have been useful members of society and ornaments to the

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infant colony, expiated their crimes on the gallows. I rejoice, however, that I can with truth say, I never, during a residence of four years in the Australian colonies, had a servant flogged, for, by the exercise of justice and benevolence, of kindness and firmness, my domestics uniformly rendered me cheerful obedience. But I will not here anticipate remarks which must appear in a subsequent part of this narrative.

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CHAPTER III.

PASSAGE FROM HOBART TOWN TO SYDNEY.

Incidents of the Voyage—The Special Object of the Author's Voyage from London to Sydney.

About the 27th of October, the Rover was ready for sea, and she proceeded on her destined course to Sydney. The passage, of about six days, though obstructed in part by contrary winds, was agreeable and prosperous. One incident, indeed, occurred, which shows the dangers attendant on a sea voyage:—When we were crossing the entrance from the Pacific Ocean to Bass's Straits, a heavy sea struck the quarter gallery on the larboard side of the vessel, burst through the door of the water-closet, broke the support to the cot, in which an invalid passenger was sleeping, and on its receding carried his clothes into the ocean, and him to the edge of the exposed cabin. This happened suddenly, about two o'clock in the morning, and when the gentleman awoke, enveloped with sea water, he surely thought that the vessel had foundered, and that he was in his death struggle in the sea; and, therefore, under the impulse of confiding emotions in the

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mercy of God, ejaculated, with clasped hands, "Lord receive my spirit." However, with returning consciousness, he soon discovered that his life and person were safe; he took refuge in the warm bed of the captain, and at breakfast the same morning found himself none the worse, except for the loss of a suit of clothes, and the third of a set of treasury bills to the amount of £400. With this adventure, and a fire in the cook's galley, through which we lost a dinner, we entered Sydney Heads about the morning of the 3rd of November. As my arrival at Hobart Town, and destination to Sydney, had preceded me, two friends came on board the Rover to take me ashore, and to give me a hospitable reception during my temporary abode in that city.

As I have not yet related the special object of my voyage to Sydney, I will take this opportunity to inform my readers. In February of 1836, I received, in London, from Lord Glenelg, then chief Secretary of State for the Colonies, the appointment to perform the duties of Chaplain at the penal settlement of Norfolk Island, with a salary and outfit, usually at that time given to government chaplains in the colonies; and, therefore, on my arrival at Sydney, I took an early opportunity to present to the governor of the territory of New South Wales, Sir Richard

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Bourke, the document which contained my appointment. In about *ten* days the government brig, which was to carry me to Norfolk Island, was ready for sea; but little opportunity, at that time, was afforded me to visit the interior of New South Wales, or even to take a minute view of Sydney and its suburbs.

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CHAPTER IV.

NORFOLK ISLAND.

Passage from Sydney to the Island—Incidents during the Passage —The Effects of Injudicious Retrenchment—The Sufferings of the Prisoners—The Ministerial Labours of the Author—His Arrival at Norfolk Island—The Commandant—His Views of Penal Discipline—Civil Surgeon Gamack—Surgeon Harnett—The Fatal Consequences of Unwholesome Rations—Of Severe and Merciless Discipline—Great Mortality among the Prisoners—The Board of Inquiry—The exposure of that Farce—The apparent Reasons which influenced the Commandant—His Decision—A Scene at the Police Office—His Correspondence with Major Anderson—An Account of his Official Labours—The Injudicious Arrangements at the Penal Settlement—His Description of the Island—The Character of Major Anderson, the Commandant of Norfolk Island.

UNDER these circumstances, on Sunday morning, about the 14th of November, I went on board the government brig as she lay in the Cove of Sydney, preparatory to her departure for Norfolk Island; and the impressions then made on my mind and feelings, by the sight presented to me, have not been erased by the occurrences of *twenty* years. *Seventy* male prisoners had that morning been shipped for the penal settlement, some sentenced for *seven*, others for *fourteen* years, and the remainder for *life*. These seventy men, on their arrival in New South Wales, were convicts;

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they had since, by servitude or a royal pardon, obtained their liberty, but, by a subsequent violation of the law, had been convicted of felony, and sentenced to be transported to the penal settlement of Norfolk Island. The offences of a large majority of these wretched prisoners were such as, at the present time in England, would expose the offenders merely to six months' imprisonment, or, at the most, to four years' penal servitude, Yet, some of these men, who were the heads of families, and before their last apprehension were shopkeepers and tradesmen, were torn from their families, and sent to a penal settlement to sleep in wards which contained *one hundred and fifty prisoners* of every degree of guilt and gradation in depravity; and, therefore, their partings on board from parents, wives, and children, were, to my feelings, most affecting. As my salary had commenced, though not my special duties, I was constrained, by a sense of public duty, and my emotions of commiseration, to do my utmost during the passage to alleviate their sufferings by acts of personal kindness and by religious ministrations; and as the prisoners' cook was not allowed any other vessels for the soup than buckets, I obtained permission of the master of the vessel to lend the cook my washing bason.

The distance from the port of Sydney to Norfolk Island

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is, in a direct course, about a thousand miles, in a north-easterly direction, and through the parallels of latitude 36° to 29°. The season of the year was the middle of November, within a month of midsummer. The heat was intense; and we were only 10° from the tropic of Capricorn. The prison in which these miserable men were confined during the passage was about 18 feet square, to the floor of which the seventy were chained night and day. The passage sometimes lasted *three* weeks; ours was about *eight* days.

In my attempts to produce religious and favourable impressions on these wretched beings, in whose veins circulated Anglo-Saxon blood, I obtained leave to spend half an hour daily in their prison in the performance of a religious service, but the stench was so very offensive that I could not remain nearer than the gangway; and there with considerable difficulty, I every morning for about half an hour read and expounded a portion of the Scriptures, and offered on their behalf an extempore prayer to that God who hears the sighing of the prisoner, and who avengeth the oppressed. On board there was civil surgeon Harnett, who was appointed to Norfolk Island to relieve surgeon Gamack. That person, like myself, was then in the receipt of government pay. But he differed from me

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in regard to views of personal responsibilty, for he took no more notice of the prisoners than if they had been *seventy head* of cattle. This will appear from the relation of the following incident:—On one of my morning visits to the prison, the inmates informed me that they apprehended one of their number would have died during the last night. The prisoner was suffering from a diseased heart; and during the night he had been affected by a violent paroxysm of pain. When I returned to the deck I communicated these facts to the surgeon, who, in reply, calmly said, "My official duties do not commence until I arrive at the Island." But when I pressed on him the urgency of the case, he said, "Well, if you wish it, I will see the man." I of course told him that it was my desire that he should immediately visit the poor sufferer. He descended into the loathsome dungeon, found the prisoner in a dangerous state, and had him removed from the prison, and exposed to the fresh air on deck.

At that time of retrenchment in all the departments of government, and under the influence of that system—though, including prisoners and their military guard, the crew, and the passengers, there were not less than a hundred persons on board the government brig, and who might have remained there for *three* weeks—the vessel contained

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no medicine chest, nor even an ounce of salts or senna. However, all the harm I wish to such extreme economists as the late Joseph Hume, Mr. Roebuck, and Messrs. Cobden and Bright, is, that they had been sick passengers in that government brig; for, during their passage, their views on the subject of retrenchment might have been modified. Those financial reformers are not aware what injuries they sometimes inflict on prisoners of the crown and subordinate servants of the state in distant dependencies of the British Empire.

About noon of the 22nd of November we anchored near the Island, and the captain having learnt, through the medium of signals, that the settlement was in a state of repose, he made preparations for the debarkation of the prisoners. A launch was despatched from the Island to receive the passengers, who were government servants; and on our arrival ashore, there were several horses saddled to convey the gentlemen passengers to the office of the commandant; and as the quarters appropriated to myself, and to surgeon Harnett, were not in a state of readiness to receive us, the commandant, Major Anderson, courteously invited both myself and Mr. Harnett, with his lady, to be temporary guests at Government House. There, for about eight days, I remained and received his profuse and

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splendid hospitality; and during my stay at Government House I accompanied the commandant on horseback, attended by an orderly, to different establishments in connexion with the settlement. During our rides and walks he assiduously endeavoured to indoctrinate me with his peculiar views of the science of government in general, and of penal discipline in particular. He detailed to me with much feeling some of the inconveniences he had experienced, through the influence of divided authority; and from his general remarks, and the inferences he drew from his facts, I might have supposed that he had been educated in the school of the late Emperor of all the Russias. For instance, he assured me that surgeon Gamack, who during the preceding five years had sole medical charge of the prisoners and of the civil establishment, when prisoners complained to him of sickness, or of inability to labour, *presumed* to act on his own judgment, regardless of the opinion or wishes of a military governor. And what was the consequence of this independency of action? Why—out of 1,200 prisoners who were on short and sometimes unwholesome rations, and who for *ten hours* daily were engaged in hard labour, and many of them heavily ironed, exposed to the influence of an almost tropical sun—that about 100 were on the easy list, as unfit for hard

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work. But to this disciple of Nicholas such leniency was intolerable; and many unhappy days and restless nights that want of unity of authority had caused this eminent governor; for, to all the entreaties, remonstrances, and even threats of the worthy major, surgeon Gamack remained immovable. But when surgeon Harnett was his guest, and Mrs. Harnett was the guest of his lady, despondency yielded to hope, and joy supplanted in the major's bosom the place of sorrow. During the friendly rides and walks of the commandant and the newly arrived civil surgeon, the major unbosomed himself to his medical guest; in piteous language related his sorrows, occasioned by the refractory Mr. Gamack; detailed, in exaggerated and highly coloured descriptions, the lamentable consequences of such insubordination in regard to the heads of departments, and especially to the prisoners. Surgeon Harnett, confiding in the truth of those statements, and influenced by a *ten days'* splendid hospitality and the promise of double quarters, commenced the process of *weeding* the prisoners; and under this improved system, suggested by the commandant, and adopted to please him, in a few days reduced the 100 men to less than 50 on the easy list. Acting on another sage suggestion of that consummate governor, he resolutely told the idle prisoners

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that, if any of them came to him with pretences of sickness or inability to labour, he would have them punished. The prisoners, from painful experience, knew the full meaning of the term punishment; for that diminutive Nicholas, Major Anderson, possessed, from the authority of the crown, as the head of the executive, the *discretionary* power to inflict on the prisoners *three hundred lashes*: a power which he often exercised.

By this time, I doubt not, my readers are anxious to know how this new system of penal discipline worked. One prisoner, for *seven days* in succession, complained to surgeon Harnett of sickness, and of inability to work; the subservient surgeon told him that he was malingering, and refused him any medicine or exemption from labour. On the eighth day he was admitted into the hospital, and expired on the next. It will be manifested at the last day whether or not that man was murdered. During the full development of this improved system, on a certain Tuesday I visited the hospital; for on Tuesdays and Fridays I attended to that department of my official duties. On entering one of the wards I saw a prisoner in the agonies of death. Several of the inmates boldly said, "The man has been murdered." I remonstrated with them, and endeavoured to calm their passions. On the

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admission that their statement was true, I pointed out to them the natural consequences of malingering; that the practice excited in the surgeon and commandant a general suspicion of the truth of their statements, and, as a consequence caused the innocent to suffer with the guilty. Though, however, the preceding is the substance of my address on that painful occasion to the prisoners in hospital; yet, at all hazards, I determined, in reliance on Divine assistance, to have the matter sifted. In about an hour a message was sent to my quarters to inform me that the prisoner had expired. Under the influence of considerable excitement, I went to Government House to apprise the commandant of the sad occurence; to tell him the impression that the catastrophe had made on the prisoners; and to request him to appoint a Board of Inquiry, to investigate the cause of the man's death.

When I called at the house the major was out taking a ride; during the day, however, I met him in the settlement, and there, in a few words, stated to him the facts of the case. In regard to the death, he said, "It was an untoward event;" to my request for a Board of Inquiry, he exclaimed, "Mr. Atkins, you are bringing a charge against Dr. Harnett!" In reply to his alarming and menacing exclamation, I calmly told him that to me it was a matter

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of indifference to whom the charge applied. The prisoners declared that one of their number had been murdered; and they confided in me as a friend; and, therefore, I demanded on their behalf, and on behalf of the British Government, whose servant I was, an impartial and full inquiry. The autocrat, on that expression of independence, left me in a rage. After an interval of two hours we again met in the settlement, and the major, with one of his blandest smiles, and in a manner truly fraternal, said, "I have mentioned the circumstances to Dr. Harnett, and he is highly indignant, and desired me to inform him 'who presumed' to interfere with his department?" But, the major added in a suppressed voice, and with a significant bend of the head, "I would not tell him." He, however, assured me, on the *honour* of a *gentleman*, that the man died of acute dysentery, which had not existed more than twenty-four hours. That disclaimer and expression of indignation did not in the least influence my determination: for I repeated my demand, and said, "You command me to inter the corpse; I will obey, but will not be responsible for the consequences." He asked me what consequences? Did I fear a mutiny among the prisoners? I repeated the declaration, that I would not be responsible for *any* consequences. And then, having lost his self-

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control, he, with a sarcastic sneer, asked me if I wished to be regarded "the champion of the prisoners?" With that insolent language again he left me in anger.

The next morning we again met near the beach; and without offering any apology for the gross and unprovoked insult he on the past evening offered me, but presuming on the influence of his despotic power and the absence of public opinion, he bent his long neck so low, and brought his face in proximity so near to mine, as though it had been his intention to give me a brotherly kiss, said, "Oh, Mr. Atkins, I have held a consultation with my brother officers, and, in accordance with their advice, I have decided to form a board of inquiry, and I shall esteem it to be a particular favour if you will kindly make one of the board." Of course I consented, but little imagined what a farce was to be performed, and of the part that, by concert, I was intended to perform. As I passed through the military barrack yard to the board room, there stood surgeon Harnett, surrounded by several officers of the regiment, of which the commandant was a major; they shook him cordially by the hand, and in the most agreeable manner conversed with him. That my official readers, both civil and military, will recognise as a *scene* in the farce, especially intended for my entertainment. While at the Board, I was

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sneered at by D. A. Commissary Kent; and the accused surgeon Harnett was invited to remain in court to see the prisoners who would have the hardihood, with the certainty of a reward of *three hundred* lashes, to give evidence against him. Under these circumstances, of course, the sick prisoners, who on the preceding day boldly told me that their fellow prisoner was murdered, were then silent, not to be seen, and one even denied what he had said in my hearing; and at that time the matter was soon settled. The Chairman drew up a report, which stated, that from evidence adduced before the Board, the prisoner had died of acute dysentery. That was on the testimony, an oath, of Surgeon Harnett. The last part of the farce was the signing of the report by the members of the Board; and, in the absence of the evidence that I innocently expected, but which afterwards I obtained, I signed the document. Scarcely had I affixed my signature to the report, when surgeon Harnett, in the presence and hearing of the chairman and the other members of the court, addressed me in these words: "Mr. Atkins, your behaviour has been ungentlemanly, and you deserve to be stripped of your gown." That was a public challenge to a duel, and in that aspect I regarded it; and, as the chairman, Captain Petitt, could not afford me protection, I immediately, on my return

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to my quarters, wrote officially to the commandant, charged surgeon Harnett with having, while in the discharge of a public duty, grossly insulted me, and challenged me, though holding a commission from the Chief Secretary of State for the Colonies, to perform the duties of Chaplain.

The plausible, but wily major, at a glance discovered the precipitancy of his subservient surgeon; and, therefore, expressed to me his disapproval of Mr. Harnett's conduct, but asserted his inability to punish him. After a few days I was summoned to another meeting of the board, when the chairman read, for the adoption of the board, another report, expressed in more confident and comprehensive language; and, among other objectionable expressions, there was the following: "A minute inquiry." To that statement I offered some objections, which provoked against me the insolence of the chairman; and, therefore, at the suggestion of the clerk of the works, who was a civilian, I at that time declined to sign the new report, but promised to consider the contents of it at my leisure. At that meeting of the board, a scene in the farce was exhibited of surgeon Harnett lunching with a subaltern in an adjoining and open room; that scene, also, was for my special gratification. That comprehensive report was sent to my quarters, and affixed to it were the signatures of the chairman and

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all the members of the board, with the exception of my own; and there was required to it only my signature before it would have been despatched to the Governor of New South Wales, who, on receipt of it would have suspended me from my office, and have forwarded it to the Chief Secretary of State for the Colonies.

By this time the prisoners had recovered from their surprise; they were ashamed of their cowardly desertion of their only friend on the island, and then they were willing, even with the certainty of a flogging, to furnish me with evidence in support of their original charge of murder. The facts of the case, which I collected from several independent witnesses, and which they were prepared to state on oath before *even* the commandant who held their lives in his hands, were the following: That on a certain Wednesday morning, in January, 1837, a prisoner of the crown appeared before Dr. Harnett, and complained of diarrhœa and inability to labour. The surgeon examined him, and stated that he was malingering, and therefore refused him medicine or exemption from labour, and added, that if he came again to complain he would have him punished. The man returned to his work, and in the evening was locked up in the barracks with the other prisoners. That, during the night, the symptoms of the

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disease having become more aggravated, he renewed his complaint to the dispenser, also a prisoner, but he, who knew the decision of his superior in the medical department, locked him up for the remainder of the night. That on the next morning, Thursday, the prisoner again complained of aggravated diarrhœa to Mr. Harnett, who repeated the charge of malingering. He sent him before the tribunal of the commandant, the only magistrate at that time, and before him swore that the man was not diseased. Thence the sufferer was locked up in prison, and while there, during the remainder of that day and the following night, a prisoner who was confined in the same ward with him saw the blood run down his legs into his shoes. That on the next morning, Friday, the sick prisoner was again taken before the commandant, and sentenced to receive *one hundred and fifty* lashes. The same morning the sentence was in part executed; for, in the presence of surgeon Harnett, and of a subaltern officer who then acted as superintendent of the prisoners, the poor fellow received about *eighty* lashes, when Mr. Harnett ordered the flogging to terminate; and when the prisoner returned to the prison to have his back dressed, he exclaimed, "They have killed me." That the next day, Saturday, the man was sent to hard labour in the open air, either in the field or in a road

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gang. That on Sunday he returned to the settlement. On Monday he was admitted into the hospital; and on Tuesday he died. With the preceding statement of facts, I will leave my readers to form their own opinion of the merits of the case.

But some person may ask, what motives prompted Major Anderson to urge on the civil surgeon the adoption of such stringent measures? In answer to this question my reply is—to take the most charitable view of his conduct—that, having for a long time concentrated his thoughts on Dr. Gamack's general treatment of the prisoners, and having felt much annoyance through the daily sight of so many idle drones in that hive of industry, he had become affected with a kind of monomania; and therefore he considered it to be his public duty, by the use of indirect means, to make out a strong case of dereliction of duty against the late civil surgeon. If, through the large number of deaths among the prisoners, and the part that I acted in the affair, the improved system of penal discipline had not failed, by the greatly diminished number of names on the *easy* list, a charge of negligence against Dr. Gamack might, on the next return passage of the government brig, have been despatched to head quarters.

During our friendly conversations, the commandant

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informed me that the average number of deaths *annually* among the prisoners on the island was about *five;* I, however, interred, within a *fortnight, fourteen.* But that great mortality was facilitated, and in part produced, through the operation of the *retrenchment* system, to which allusion has been already made. For a six weeks' rations of flour, which, through exposure to the influence of an almost tropical climate, had become so much affected by the *weevil* that it had been condemned by a military board as unfit for the use of the *soldiers,* and which the *regimental* surgeon told me was a compound of animal matter, was, by the sole authority of the commandant, ordered to be used as rations for the prisoners. The influence of the climate, the severity of labour, and the corrupt flour, soon performed their deadly work on the emaciated bodies and enfeebled constitutions of the poor prisoners; for a third part of the condemned rations had not been eaten before dysentery in its destructive course appeared among the prisoners. *Seventy* of them it consigned to the hospital wards, and nearly twenty it sent to a premature grave.

Some one may ask how I acted under those very appalling circumstances. In the following manner:—Having collected the evidence of the death of three prisoners,

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apparently, at least, through the refusal of medical aid and exemption from hard labour; having witnessed the baneful influence of an unjust, cruel, and vindictive system of penal discipline; and having from a large induction of facts arrived at the conclusion that, at least *mentally*, Major Anderson was unfit for the responsible office which, through the patronage of the Governor of New South Wales, he held, I waited with patience the arrival of the government brig, and then made a formal and written application to the commandant for leave of absence to Sydney, as I had communications of importance to make to the Governor-in-Chief of the Territory of New South Wales. Major Anderson readily complied with my application, and no doubt was glad to be relieved of the presence and interference of an unmanageable person in the capacity of chaplain to the settlement. But having graciously granted me leave of absence, he attempted the following stratagem to neutralise my exertions:—On the pretence of information communicated to him, he by a written notice summoned me to the police office, at which he was the only magistrate, and with an air of authority presented the Gospels, and required me on oath to answer any questions he might please to ask me. Young bird, however, as I then was, I was not to be caught with his

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official chaff; and therefore I resolutely refused to be sworn; I renounced his assumed authority; and boldly told him that, having obtained his leave of absence, I would proceed to Sydney, and accuse both himself and Dr. Harnett to the Governor. Fear, rage, and malignity inspired the poor major to threaten me with imprisonment on the island. And when, in contempt of his impotent, though arrogant threats, I stretched out my right arm, he called into the office the Honourable Mr. Perry, his clerk, to be a witness to my contempt of his authority. In his address to that sprig of nobility, who had been sent by Mr. Spring Rice from England to Sir Richard Bourke, to make some provision for him, the major, with an assumption of injured dignity, said, "Mr. Perry, the Rev. Mr. Atkins has, with outstretched arm, defied the commandant of Norfolk Island!" And with that exclamation I was allowed to leave the office.

Some of my readers may wish to know what I did with the report of the board of inquiry that was forwarded to my quarters for signature. To gratify their laudable desire, I will now inform them. Having considered the animus, and the wording of the report, instead of affixing my signature to that dishonest document, I affixed a protest, to the effect "that the severity and cruelty of the

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penal discipline on the island had so degraded and brutalised the prisoners, that they had become insensible to degradation, and incapable of feeling." With that protest, in the place of my signature, I returned the report to the chairman, Captain Petitt. It was then carried to the commandant, who, with alarm in his countenance, accosted me while I was walking through the settlement, and said, "Mr. Atkins, you reflect on the conduct of the supreme government. Pray withdraw your protest, or kindly send me in writing a more specific statement of your general charges." But though my residence at a penal settlement had been only of short duration, and merely a few months had been afforded me to acquire an experimental knowledge of the pernicious influence of almost absolute authority, and of the arts that a petty military despot employs to effect his purpose; yet, what was lacking in regard to him, was supplied by a succession of tragical events. Therefore I wrote to the disconcerted major to this effect: "When Major Anderson shall be pleased to tell Mr. Atkins, *in writing*, that in the discharge of a sacred and public duty he is influenced by feelings of malevolence and vindictiveness; that he wishes to be regarded the champion of the prisoners, and that he will not yield to him; that he could put him in prison; and

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that he offered him other indignities—when the major shall have complied with these reasonable requests—then Mr. Atkins will consider the contents of his extraordinary epistle. But, until then, he must decline any further correspondence with him." That reply of course silenced the loquacious commandant.

From the preceding account of my extra-official labours in the sacred cause of justice and humanity, it may be supposed that my special field of labour remained uncultivated, and that my duties, as chaplain to the settlement, were very inadequately performed. My own reputation, therefore, requires me to inform my readers of the amount and diversity of my official labours, so long as I remained on the island. On Sunday morning at 7 o'clock I read the morning service, and preached a sermon in the prisoners' barracks to the prisoners; at eleven o'clock read prayers and preached at the military barracks to the soldiers and the military and civil officers of the establishment; and at three o'clock in the afternoon I read the evening service and preached to the prisoners alternately at the barracks in the settlement, or at the agricultural establishment, about a mile from the settlement. On Monday I visited the school for the children of the soldiers. Tuesday, visited, for the performance of religious services, the

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hospital and gaol. Wednesday, rode to several road gangs, read to a number of them a portion of Scripture, and addressed them on moral and religious subjects. Thursday, engaged in similar duties. Friday, visited, for the performance of religious services, the hospital and gaol. And on Saturday rested, preparatory to the laborious duties of the Christian Sabbath. These were my weekly, self-imposed, public duties, and they were performed from a deep sense of the moral and spiritual exigencies of the inhabitants of the penal settlement, which included 1,200 prisoners, about 150 soldiers, who comprised two companies of the 50th foot, and about thirty civil and military officers.

The arrangements of the establishment, in a physical and intellectual, in a moral and religious aspect, were defective in the extreme. With about 300 mechanics, including bricklayers and stonemasons, plasterers and painters, carpenters and joiners, 150 prisoners slept in a single ward, where were arranged two tiers of hammocks, almost close to each other; and in them were placed, for at least ten hours every night, persons of all ages from sixteen to sixty, and of every conceivable degree of depravity. And, therefore, through the heat of the climate, the violence of unbridled passion, and the absence of women, unnatural crimes were of common occurrence. Indeed, the

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time and skill of these artisans, that ought to have been employed in the erection of a building in which the prisoners might have been classified, and placed, if necessary, in separate confinement, were appropriated to the making of furniture to furnish a mansion for Major Anderson when he should leave the settlement. To attain that object, the material of wood and iron was conveyed from Sydney to the island in the government brig.

The most notorious convict on the island was a prisoner of the name of Knatchbull. This man, a son of the late Sir Edward Knatchbull, had been a captain in the Royal Navy. Then, however, he was known as a blackleg, and, I believe, for ungentlemanly, if not, for dishonest conduct, had been subsequently dismissed from the service. During a residence in London, to support a course of dissipation and profligacy, he, on several occasions, stole plate from his lodgings; but to prevent his being prosecuted for felony and thus disgracing his family, his friends at different times compromised those felonious affairs, by paying the value of the stolen articles. However, on the commission of the last act of felony, his friends withheld their interference, and allowed the law to take its course. Hence Captain Knatchbull was tried and convicted for plate stealing, and transported to Botany Bay. Having, however, in the

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territory of New South Wales procured his freedom, this notorious plate-stealer and blackleg again put in practice his thieving propensities, through which he was again convicted, and, to rid the infant colony of a nuisance, was sentenced to penal servitude at Norfolk Island for seven years. Before embarkation, this villanous convict Knatchbull procured by some means a pound of arsenic, with which he purposed to poison the military guard and ship's crew, and then get possession and command of the government brig. This purpose he communicated to some of his fellow prisoners, and one of them revealed to the officer in charge of the guard or to the captain of the bark, his infamous and diabolical plot. The arsenic having been found on his person, or, at least, in his possession, the military authority on board had him, during four and twenty hours, suspended from the bowsprit of the vessel, which occasioned him frequent dips in the sea, through the plunging motion of the bark. Those salt water baths were not very agreeable to the feelings of that plotter of wholesale murder, but they were foretastes of his future punishment. During the time of his penal servitude on the island he was the designer of a vessel to be secretly built by the prisoners, in which to make their escape from the settlement. This project was discovered by the commandant

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long before the completion of the vessel. And as the originator of this plot, and as ringleader of projected mutinies, he acquired greater notoriety, and received additional punishment. During my residence in Norfolk Island, Knatchbull, the son of a baronet, and *quondam* captain in the navy, was employed as a stonemason, and from his personal appearance and conversation, as all traces of a gentleman had long disappeared, he exhibited no external or internal evidence that he had ever been in a higher social position: indeed, he appeared to be in his natural place. Moreover, on the recovery of his liberty and return to Sydney, this felon and purposed poisoner entered a small provision shop, in one of the back streets of that city, in the possession of a lonely widow, murdered her, and took the contents of her till, which amounted only to *seventeen shillings*. And for this capital offence, characterised by great brutality and cowardice, a son of the late Sir Edward Knatchbull, and formerly a captain in the Royal Navy, terminated a life of debauchery, felony, and murder, by suffering the extreme penalty of the law.

The following account will show the pernicious influence of arbitrary authority, and the injurious effects of the infliction of severe corporal punishment. During my official residence at the penal settlement of Norfolk Island

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I saw a prisoner in the place that was unable to work, though apparently in good health, and not more than thirty years old. This man, two years before I saw him, at the request of his fellow-prisoners, wrote a letter to the commandant, Major Anderson, which contained a complaint of a misappropriation of the prisoners' rations by the cooks. These rations, the writer stated, were given to the pigs, the property of the military officers, at the head of whom was the major himself. All the officers of two companies, with the commissary, surgeons, chaplain, and commandant, kept for their tables a large stock, including pigs and poultry. And it was asserted in the letter that for presents of tobacco given by these gentlemen, the prisoner cooks were tempted, and yielded to the temptations, thus to rob the prisoners of their hominy to feed the officers' pigs. Major Anderson, whose stock of pigs and poultry was, it is probable, as large as the united stock of all the other officers, perceived that the charge of tempting and bribing the cooks applied in an especial manner to himself. Therefore, in the exercise of his arbitrary and absolute authority as commandant, he undertook an examination of these grave charges made virtually against himself as well as against his brother officers. Therefore, the result of this examination my readers may readily anticipate. This

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disciple of Nicholas, autocrat of all the Russians, found these charges to be false and malicious, and to prevent a recurrence of them he ordered the writer of the letter to receive *three hundred* lashes. The poor fellow received about two-thirds of the number in the presence of the civil surgeon, who then ordered the punishment to cease. However, the flogging broke a strong constitution, produced a disease of the heart, and left the man a human wreck and a waning spectacle for his fellow prisoners. Exposed to such arbitrary and cruel, to such unjust and murderous punishments, merely for an attempt, in a lawful manner, to protect their rights, my readers will not be surprised to hear that frequent attempts to mutiny were made by the prisoners, in order to escape from their island prison. Indeed, had it been my unhappy lot to be a prisoner there instead of a chaplain to the prisoners, I would have effected my escape, or perished in the attempt. For I have no doubt that the charges contained in the letter were true, and that the commandant, though, perhaps, unintentionally, was involved in the guilt of bribery and corruption. Therefore, I do not envy Major Anderson the honours in military rank and official position that since 1837 he has attained, though he has risen to the rank of a major, if not to that of a lieutenant-general, and has filled the office of com-

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mandant of Woolwich barracks and garrison. Indeed, I would rather be a victim of his arbitrary and vindictive cruelty. However, that gracious God, who heareth the sighing of the prisoner, and who avengeth, will, if he has not already, summon to his account Joseph Anderson, who, in 1837, was commandant of the penal settlement at Norfolk Island.

At this time there were on the island some 1,200 prisoners, sentenced to seven years, fourteen years, and for life respectively. Of these about 800 were by profession Protestants, and 400 Roman Catholics, and both of them comprising English, Irish, and Scotchmen. The Roman Catholics were by the request of Dr. Poulding, the Catholic Bishop of Sydney, under the spiritual superintendence of a convict priest. The Protestants were under my charge. The severe and inhuman discipline of the settlement was in some cases insupportable, and therefore, influenced by despondency or disgust of life, several men committed suicide. However, the Catholic prisoners, to effect the termination of life, did not directly, but indirectly, commit self-destruction. For while a professed Protestant used the rope, the knife, or the water to terminate his wretched mortal existence, the Catholic murdered an unoffending fellow prisoner. This murderous act he perpetrated

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because, before his execution, an opportunity to confess to a priest would be afforded him. But murder committed under these circumstances and for this purpose, includes the heinous crimes of both homicide and suicide, and in this aspect I represented it to the Protestant prisoners under my charge. However, as through the ecclesiastical arrangements of the penal settlement, the 400 Roman Catholic prisoners were excluded from my spiritual superintendence, and as they were the persons that perpetrated the two-fold crime, I wrote to the commandant for permission, not to conduct the public worship of the Catholics, but simply to address them on the subjects of homicide and suicide. But in 1837 the influence of the late Daniel O'Connell was paramount in the Territory of New South Wales, so that Governor Bourke and Commandant Anderson were more inclined to please Dr. Poulding, the Catholic Bishop, than Dr. Broughton, the Bishop of the Church of England. Hence, from deference to the wishes of Dr. Poulding my reasonable request was refused. Of the 1,200 prisoners about 100 indulged no hope of a mitigation of punishment, and of a termination, during the present life, of their penal servitude. Hence, under the influence of despair and revenge, they did their utmost to involve the other 1,100 in the same hopeless doom.

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Therefore, prompted by the motives of accursed spirits, these hopeless, despairing, and awfully depraved men were the constant tempters of their fellow prisoners to every species of crime which they were able to commit. Lust in its most loathsome and unnatural forms; malignity in its most revolting aspects; and selfishness in its greatest intensity, characterised no small number of the prisoners.

In 1842, a great and benevolent change had been produced in public opinion throughout the United Kingdom, in regard to the treatment of prisoners of the Crown. At that time Earl, then Lord John Russell, was the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and by his influence the late Captain Mackonochy was appointed Commandant or Governor of Norfolk Island. However, the system of penal discipline introduced by Captain Mackonochy, for the government of the Crown prisoners at Norfolk Island, was characterised chiefly by licentiousness. Indeed, instead of discipline there was the prevalence of anarchy; in the place of order, confusion reigned; and for a mild and equitable government suitable for the punishment of convicted felons, and to exert an influence for the prevention of crime, there was in operation a system which rewarded criminals, as well as encouraged the commission of felonies. In fact, Captain Mackonochy's plan of penal government did not recognise

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the radical corruption of human nature, and therefore, it was not based on religious principles. For it was a mere philanthropic experiment made on depraved human nature, more on the principles of the late Robert Owen than on Christian principles. No wonder that the system proved a lamentable failure. Captain Mackonochy was removed, and soon afterwards the penal settlement was broken up. On the breaking up of the penal settlement, some of the prisoners were immediately, I presume, restored to liberty, and in the course of a short time the remainder procured comparative freedom, or conditional pardons. The island soon afterwards became the settlement for the inhabitants of Pitcairn Island, the descendants of the mutineers of the ship Bounty, and as the means of religious instruction has been provided for both the adult and juvenile population, the hope may be cherished and devoutedly prayed for that the material and spiritual characteristics of Norfolk Island will correspond with its natural fertility and beauty. Then, in this improved condition, it will, in some humble degree sustain the character of an earthly paradise.

Before dismissing this part of my narrative, some account may be desired of the physical features of Norfolk Island. The island is exceedingly beautiful; then, however, it was a moral pandemonium. It is about seven miles in its extreme

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length, and five in breadth. Mount Pitt rises in the centre 1,200 feet in height, in the shape of a cone. The island is of volcanic origin, and limestone of various kinds predominates throughout its extent. Indeed, all the public edifices that are built of native stone are composed of lime formation; therefore, as a consequence, in wet weather all the apartments in them are damp. Moreover, the soil is so much impregnated with particles of lime, that a bed of apparently good clay, and which the brickmakers confidently expected would make excellent bricks, when it had been moulded and burnt, would dissolve in water.

The flora of the island combines the magnificent and the beautiful. The celebrated Norfolk pine rises to a height of 100 feet, and expands its trunk 30 feet in circumference; while the lemon tree bearing an abundance of fruit, large in size and mild in flavour, flourishes in every part of the island. These are adorned with the climbing convolvulus of every variety of colour and diversity of beauty. Orange trees did abound on the island, but Colonel Morriset, the former commandant, and whose discretionary power to inflict on the prisoners corporal punishment extended to *five hundred lashes*, had them destroyed that they should not afford sustenance to runaway prisoners who might take to the bush.

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Before I take a final leave of that interesting specimen of humanity, Major Anderson, some of my readers may desire an account of his birth, parentage, and education, and a description of his person. To gratify that desire, I will supply a few particulars in regard to them; and I am happy to say that the major of the 50th was by birth, parentage, and education neither an Englishman, nor an Irishman, but a Scotch Highlander. His father was a fisherman; and through the influence of some member of the clan, his son Joseph obtained a commission in the army. The young Highlander having served in Egypt and in the West Indies, about 1830 accompanied a detachment of his regiment to Sydney; and about 1833 relieved Colonel Morriset as commandant of the penal settlement at Norfolk Island. He remained a bachelor until the mature age of about forty-two years, when he married a blooming young lady of some eighteen years, a daughter of Colonel Campbell. When, in 1837, I had the honour of his acquaintance, he had attained the age of fifty-four. In person he was about six feet in height, and slender in make. His general education had been neglected, and his views were contracted within the limits of military routine. His chief aim was to please his patron, Sir Richard Bourke, and his highest ambition to obtain his colonelcy. He

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succeeded in both these aspirations. He could fawn and threaten; he could embrace as a brother and hate as a fiend. He expressed for me the highest regard and fraternal affection; and in his report to the governor was constrained to say that I had performed my official duties with zeal and ability. The preceding is a brief description of Joseph Anderson, in 1837 commandant of Norfolk Island.

On my arrival at Sydney from Norfolk Island, *via* Moreton Bay, in the absence of the Governor who was at Port Phillip, I reported myself to the Colonial Secretary, and in about a month afterwards had a personal interview with Sir Richard Bourke. During that interview I handed to him a lengthened report, which contained a detailed account of the deaths of three men, the circumstances of which induced me to procure leave to come to headquarters. At that time the Governor experienced considerable annoyance by the organised attempts of the old tory faction to thwart his liberal attempts to reform the colonial administration. He, indeed, was the first governor of the territory of New South Wales, appointed by the Whig Government. As I was not ignorant of the state of the political parties in the colony; and as, in general, the clergy were zealous partisans of the Tories,

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I assured his Excellency that in my exposure of the unjust and inhuman practices, and maladministrations at the penal settlement of Norfolk Island, I was not influenced by factious motives, but by a sense of public duty. In reply, Sir Richard said he was very glad to hear that statement, and treated me with courtesy. However, as Major Anderson was under his patronage and a member of the military profession, I saw in him a disposition to throw the broad shield of his official influence over his subordinate in rank and office. For while from a glance of the report he acknowledged that in the medical department of the settlement there had been some impropriety of conduct and neglect of duty, he, in opposition to many historical facts asserted that a person holding so high an appointment as that of Major Anderson, could not be guilty of a grave dereliction of duty. However, I could have told him that in both ancient and modern times; in the Roman Empire, and in the British Empire, governors, not merely of a penal settlement, but of extensive provinces had, unjustly, and inhumanly plundered the property, tortured the persons, and sacrificed the lives of innocent and virtuous freemen and citizens. But, he added that he had no doubt that in the preparation of the report I had been influenced by the principles of justice and humanity. However, as he

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expressed an opinion that by constitution and habit a penal settlement was not the most suitable sphere of labour for me, and that if I returned to Norfolk Island in my official capacity, the Attorney General should furnish me with written instructions for the guidance of my future public conduct, I arrived at the conclusion, that my place, as chaplain of the settlement, would, by the exercise of arbitrary authority, be rendered intolerable. For the commandant and the subservient civil surgeon, would be my implacable enemies. Therefore, on my return to my residence at the Hawkesbury, where I had the temporary clerical charge, and before I received the official reply of his Excellency to my report, I forwarded him in writing my resignation of the Home Government appointment to perform the duties of chaplain at the penal settlement of Norfolk Island. In that document I stated the lamentable fact that the severity and inhumanity of the corporal punishment inflicted on the persons of the prisoners had so much brutalised and hardened the prisoners that they had become insensible to degradation and incapable of feeling. Soon after the receipt of my resignation, the governor met the Bishop on the occasion of the laying of the first stone of St. Andrew's Cathedral, in Sydney, when his Excellency told the Bishop that I had resigned my appointment at

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Norfolk Island, but he did me the justice to add that the commandant, in his official report, said that I had discharged my professional duties with zeal and ability. Indeed, Sir Richard Bourke, though my resignation of the Norfolk Island appointment relieved him of the trouble arising from the official presence of a minister of the gospel to the prisoners, yet, a conviction that I had acted from a sense of public duty, of justice and benevolence, constrained the governor of the territory of New South Wales to use his personal and official influence to promote in the colony my professional and ministerial interests.

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CHAPTER V.

MORETON BAY.

Run for the Bay—The Bar—Brisbane, the settlement at it—The Female Prisoners—An incident in the Bush—the Condition and habits of the Natives—The Original Condition of Humanity, and Character of Man—The Climate and Soil of the Moreton Bay District—The Character of the Settlers—Author's return to Sydney.

On a morning near the end of January, 1837, I, with tearful eyes and deep emotion, took a final leave of the wretched prisoners at that penal settlement, and embarked on board the government brig for Sydney, *via* Moreton Bay. The vessel had to steer in a westerly direction about 600 miles, to take a cargo of wheat and some other stores to the penal settlement at Moreton Bay. After a run of several days we arrived at the bar entrance of the bay, and were detained there during *twelve* days, before the state of the wind and weather permitted us to cross the bar. During the time of our detention the pilot, having been teased by a subaltern officer on board, made a premature attempt to cross, but, while in the act of crossing, a squall having arisen, we were in danger of being wrecked; and but for

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the skill and firmness of the pilot, and the favour of Providence, the brig would have gone ashore. By skilful manœuvres and favouring circumstances we backed out into the open ocean. On the *twelfth* day, however, we crossed the bar, and sailed up the bay, a distance of forty miles—but part of the way in a boat towards the settlement—and then entered the River Brisbane, on the right bank of which stood the settlement, and now the town of Brisbane.

The penal settlement at Moreton Bay was a receptacle for female prisoners. Captain Fyans, of the 4th foot, was the commandant at that time. He invited me to take up my temporary residence at Government House, and I was his guest for about eight days. The female prisoners were very difficult to manage; and to punish their acts of insubordination they were ironed and sent to work in the fields, but were not flogged. The soldiers and the fair prisoners sympathised with each other, formed frequent assignations, and had many stolen interviews: hence, neither stone walls nor iron bars could keep them asunder; for, at the risk of imprisonment and corporal punishment, the gallant soldiers would visit their lady loves.

In 1837, Moreton Bay was a penal settlement *exclusively* for female prisoners; and when I visited the settlement there were, at two separate establishments, distant from

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each other about *six* miles, some 300 women. To keep them in a state of subordination a detachment of the 4th infantry was stationed in the military barracks there. On the Sunday, during my stay at Brisbane, I performed Divine sevice at the barracks, in the presence of the authorities, the soldiers, and the prisoners. The commandant, Captain Fyan was a bachelor, about *forty-five years* of age, rather eccentric in his general habits, and he beguiled the tedium of a comparatively solitary life by the innocent and useful employment of making easy chairs, tastefully wrought, for his Sydney patrons and friends.

However, Moreton Bay has, during the last fifteen years, been a free settlement, and is now, by royal authority, a new colony, designated Queensland. I will give, from personal observation, some information in regard to its natural capabilities. The town of Brisbane, the principal settlement, is situate about *forty miles* from the ocean; and between the Brisbane River and the sea there stretches an extensive bay for at least thirty miles. Within the bay there are several small islands. One of these islands, on which the pilot establishment stood, is nearly *twelve* miles in length. While, on our departure from Moreton Bay, we lay at anchor near that station, detained through the state of the bar, I formed one of a small party who made an

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excursion into the bush of the island to shoot wood pigeons. But as I was better acquainted with the use of the sword of the Spirit than that of a fowling-piece, and was more expert in attacks on human oppressors than in the shooting of birds, I, through earnest attention to the harmless pigeons and by following their movements, became separated from my sporting companions, and entangled in the recesses of the bush: for I had unconsciously wandered into a dense jungle several feet high. In this dilemma I called for help at the top of my voice, but the sound of broken billows was louder than my voice, and therefore I could not be heard. Prompted by the conflicting emotions of hope and fear, I exerted all my energies to extricate myself from my unpleasant and perilous position, and by perseverance escaped from the intricacies of the forest into an open part of the island in close proximity to the sea. Guided by the sound of the breakers on the coast, I walked and ran in that direction; and in about an hour my exertions were rewarded by a sight of the beach. Having turned my eyes in each direction, I with joy beheld at the distance of about a mile the flagstaff, and with accelerated speed hastened towards that mark of civilisation. My absence having been noticed by the party, and their fears for my safety having been excited, some friendly natives were despatched

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into the bush in search of me. On my way back I was accosted in broken English by several fine natives in a state of entire nudity. In broken expressions, and by friendly gestures, they informed me under whose commission they acted, and what was the object of their visit; and therefore under their guidance I soon arrived at the station. But to some of the officers of the bark my return was *specially* welcome, because it was the signal for dinner.

The native tribes on that island, and those in the locality of Brisbane, were, at the time of my visit, among the lowest in savagery, and the most degraded of the human species. At the agricultural establishment I saw men entirely naked, employed in the carrying of wood and water to the houses of the government officers, in which were British white women of respectability. But the sight of those naked men about their houses had become so common that their presence excited no more notice than that of a domestic animal. On the beach at the pilot station, I saw three young female natives as naked as they were born. They had attained to a state of puberty, and they were evidently under the protection of the pilot and his staff. The reason assigned for their presence was, that the tribe had gone to fight with the natives of a hostile tribe; but that was merely a pretence. The persons of those young

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females were agreeable and well formed, and their respective ages were from *sixteen* to *twenty* years. Their amusements were throwing the spear and bathing in the sea. Their skin, through exposure to the atmosphere and sun, was hard and nearly black. Their food consisted of the spare rations of their protectors, and of the reptiles they caught in the bush; also of the fish they speared in the water, and of certain edible roots. Indeed, the native tribes in that district of Australia were, in regard to their *material* condition, but little above the fowls of the air or the beasts of the forest: so deeply sunk in ignorance, brutality, and sin were those lineal descendants of Adam who was formed in the Divine image. For a tribe of thirty to procure the means of subsistence, suitable only for the lower animals, the members of it had to separate and spread themselves over an extent of country which stretched in different directions several miles. And this is the condition of human life that has been eulogised by sentimental poets, and has been affirmed by infidel philosophers to have been the primitive state of humanity. "God, however, made man upright, but he has sought out many inventions." He was created in the perfection of his physical, intellectual, and moral powers; and these were susceptible of unlimited development.

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But, by transgression, the Divine image was marred; the human spirit became a ruin; a satanic likeness usurped the place; the spiritual principle in man became extinct; and, under the debasing influence of irreligion and barbarism in the persons of the Australian natives, the nature and character of man degenerated into that of a monster, composed of a fiend and a brute. And this is the condition of life that some romantic characters of both sexes in European society sigh to experience! These enthusiasts, however, have seen savage life only in the pages of dreaming poets, or of insane philosophers. But I have, with painful and compassionate emotions, witnessed it as it really existed in Australia in 1837.

In regard to the soil and climate of the district of Moreton Bay, I will give my readers some information. The soil is fertile, and the climate is salubrious. Near the settlement of Brisbane I saw maize of the finest description, with cobs twelve inches long, and stalks ten feet high. Tropical fruits there were in perfection: plantains and figs, rock-melons and oranges; and now between New England and Moreton Bay, a distance along the coast of more than 400 miles, there are stock yards and sheep stations; comfortable homesteads, with weather-boarded cottages; and respectable, educated, and influential settlers, many of them

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the owners of from *ten* to *thirty* thousand sheep, with hundreds of neat cattle and horses. Among them are retired military officers, the sons of beneficed clergymen, and graduates of our universities. These, indeed, comprise the *elite* of the Australian colonists; and in the ecclesiastical divisions of the colony of New South Wales they are included in the see of Newcastle.

About the middle of February we re-crossed the bar, and proceeded on our way for Sydney. Therefore, in skirting the coast, I had opportunities to see points near the Clarence, the Macquarie, and Port Stephen Rivers; and about the 25th again entered Sydney Heads, ran up the harbour, and anchored in front of the commissariat stores. The day following I reported myself to the colonial secretary, the son-in-law to the governor, Sir Richard Bourke, who was at Port Philip engaged in the formation of a settlement, which, in twenty-two years has risen into the rich and flourishing colony of Victoria, with Melbourne, a city having 100,000 inhabitants.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE HAWKESBURY DISTRICT.

Author's Journey to the Lower Hawkesbury—His Description of the District—the Number and Variety of his Official Labours—The Wolombi—Mangrove Creek—Brisbane Water—Incidents of travel—The Inconveniences of a Colonial Life—The General State of Society in the District of the Lower Hawkesbury—Expenses—Author's Domestic Establishment—His Management of Servants—The Difficulties of his Predecessors—The Notorious Solomon Wiseman—The Abuses of the Assignment System—The General Influence of that System—The Official and Voluntary Labours of our Hero.

In the absence of the Governor, that I might not eat in idleness the public bread, a temporary arrangement was made for me, between the bishop and the secretary, for an exchange with a clergyman who was Chaplain of the Lower Hawkesbury. The parsonage of the district was distant from Sydney by land fifty, and by water eighty miles. I entered on my official labours, as Chaplain of the Lower Hawkesbury, on the 1st of April, and spent nearly three pounds in travelling, by steam boat and gig, with only a carpet bag, the short distance of *fifty* miles; the journey occupying two days. As it was night when I descended from the mountain road down to the banks of the Hawkes-

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bury to the residence of the chaplain, the gloomy grandeur of the scenery was then hid from my view; but the light of the next day's sun exhibited to my surprised vision a river about two hundred yards wide, bounded by rocks of sandstone a hundred feet high. On either bank, for twenty miles towards the mouth, there is a succession of reaches, and farms of from twenty to a hundred acres. These consist partly of alluvial deposits, and in part of back-runs and of rocky ground.

The occupiers of the farms were *emancipated* prisoners for life, freemen who had served their seven or fourteen years, and the children of emancipists and of freemen. Ten miles up the Hawkesbury above my house was the mouth of the Colo River, which, in that direction, formed the boundary of my district or parish. But, in the absence of a chaplain for the Upper Hawkesbury, at Pitt Town district, the inhabitants residing on its banks and at Portland Head received from me pastoral visitations and public instruction, by the performance of religious services. In the discharge of my official labours I ascended the Colo ten miles, and paid personal visits to most of the settlers who resided on its banks.

Three miles below my residence, the Macdonald River opened, which formed part of my parish, and was navigable

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for about twelve miles from the mouth, locally called the branch. There were farms on the banks of the navigable part of the river, and above the point of navigation for nearly thirty miles, which, in the discharge of my official duties and labours of love, I, on several occasions, during a residence of *fifteen months*, visited in my boat and on horseback; and out of more than a hundred families, spread along a circuitous line of thirty miles, not one was left unvisited. During those visits I delivered in favourable localities cottage lectures; and canvassed to procure for the inhabitants a resident clergyman, a church and schools. Every alternate Sunday I travelled in my boat *ten* miles to perform morning and evening Divine service in two temporary churches; and every other Sunday I went in the boat *forty* miles to accomplish a similar purpose.

There were included within the boundaries of my Lower Hawkesbury parish three out-stations in different directions: namely, the Vale of the Wolombi, a distance from my residence, on the road to Maitland, of *sixty* miles. Mangrove Creek, which opened in the Hawkesbury, *thirty miles* from my house down the river. This creek is navigable for about twelve miles, and on the banks of it there are small farms to the head of the creek. That creek, in the performance of my ministerial labours, I several times

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ascended. Brisbane Water formed my third out-station, and to get there I rode on horseback ten miles along the mountain ridge, in the direction of the Wolombi; then left the road, descended the mountain ridge to the head of Mangrove Creek, and having crossed the creek, with no other land marks than *notched* trees, rode through a thick bush *twenty-four* miles to the settlement of Brisbane Water. My first attempt to reach Brisbane Water from Hawkesbury was made under the guidance of a convict, who, with another prisoner, occupied a Government hut at the ascent of the mountain ridge to keep the road free from obstructions after heavy rains. In a mackintosh cloak strapped to the front of his saddle he had charge of my travelling wardrobe, and during our threading of the bush he pretended to lose articles to the value of £3; but, judging from all the circumstances of the case, my impression is, that during the preceding night he abstracted them from the interior of the cloak, and disposed of them to the man in whose cottage we lodged. The pretended discovery was made when we had ridden from Mangrove Creek towards Brisbane Water about twelve miles; and then my guide for a time lost sight of the notched trees; and while, at his suggestion, I remained stationary, he made a circuit of some two hundred yards to recover the marks for our road. After a few

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minutes' perambulation my guide said, "This way, sir!" Having, however, ridden during about three hours, another twelve miles, we confidently expected that we were near the settlement of Brisbane Water, when with real or feigned surprise he enquired if I knew where we were; to which inquiry I replied, "No." Then to my great mortification, the man said we are where we started from this morning.

On one occasion that I travelled the *twenty-four* miles, I had for my guide the man who I fear received my stolen property; and once alone I made two ineffectual attempts to reach the place, but was obliged to return and procure a guide. My predecessor, as chaplain, indeed, in a solitary endeavour to find Brisbane Water, having lost sight of the notched trees, wandered about the forest for twenty-four hours, and prompted by self-despair, loosed the reins and resigned himself to the guidance of his horse, which took him to some place where he before had stopped. To shew the difficulty of recovering a path in the Australian bush that once has been lost, especially over ground composed of mountain ridges and gulleys, I will mention the following incident which occurred in my own district.

A medical practitioner was walking along the mountain path, from the Hawkesbury on the Maitland Road, in the direction of Mangrove Creek, when he descended from the

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ridge into a gulley, where, during five days and nights, he was confined; and all his efforts during that time to extricate himself proved abortive. However, at the expiration of five days, he was found almost naked, through the tearing of his clothes by the brambles, his legs and and feet cut by pieces of rock, and the poor man in a state of insanity, eating the grass, which during that period, had been his only food. The preceding are merely a *few* of the drawbacks of a life in Australia; for though my residence at the Lower Hawkesbury was only fifty miles from Sydney, and accessible thence by land and water, and though the Hawkesbury district had then been located for *twenty* years, and had been the principal granary of the territory of New South Wales, yet there were no means of purchasing a regular supply of fresh meat or vegetables; and during a residence there of fourteen months, my table was spread three times a day with salt pork and damper moistened by tea. Hence a subsistence on salt provisions, during that protracted period, and the abstaining from vegetables, so much impoverished and corrupted my blood, that for *two* years I suffered through the breaking out on different parts of my body of a succession of boils, some of them as large as abscesses.

In respect to the temporal condition of the inhabitants in

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this district, a large majority of the heads of families were small freeholders residing on and cultivating their own farms; and by moderate labour, and by personal and domestic economy, they might have procured not merely the material comforts of life, but have purchased, by the savings of a few years, farms for their children. The *free* labourers also could, by habits of industry, economy, and sobriety, save money enough in from *three* to *seven* years to purchase a *fifty* or a *hundred* acre freehold. But, alas, easy circumstances, a depraved nature, and vicious habits, generated the social monsters of idleness and drunkenness, of gambling and fighting, of robbery and murder. Girls under *ten* years of age were frequently defiled; concubinage was of frequent occurrence; marriage was often dissolved, and both men and women, with husbands and wives alive, lived in a state of adultery. Indeed, some years before I resided in the district, a general habit of drinking existed, which resembled the practices of the North American Indians during the last century; for a few neighbouring settlers, having among other stores ordered an eight gallon cask of ardent spirits, would, on the arrival of it, assemble on the bank of the river, empty the cask into a tub, and dilute in some measure the spirits with water; and then men, women, and children would commence and continue a

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drunken revelry in the open air during *three days and nights.* However, on some occasions the settlers would accompany their grain to the market at Sydney, even at the risk of spending by a course of intoxication the amount of their crops and the value of their farms. For, settlers of the Upper and of the Lower Hawkesbury have remained in Sydney spending their money in intoxicating liquors on themselves, and on their public-house friends, until they had spent the money realised by the sale of their grain and the price of their freeholds; and then returned to their homes, not the proprietors, but the tenants of their farms.

In these districts, drunkenness produced among the community idle and dissipated habits. Hence the prevalence of sensual and malignant practices, consisting of fornication and adultery, of manslaughter, murder, and accidental deaths.

As the preceding is a general description of the domestic and social habits of the inhabitants of the Hawkesbury districts between the years 1826 and 1836, my readers may form some adequate conception of their condition in an intellectual, a moral, and religious aspect; and in these important respects their state was appalling to contemplate; for, in general, ignorance predominated among them, immoral practices abounded, and irreligion prevailed.

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Indeed, "the grace of God, which bringeth salvation to all men," had not taught them that, "denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, they should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world." Therefore, as a class of settlers, they possessed no "blessed hope of the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works." Hence, many of them were living in a state of practical heathenism, utterly regardless of the sanctity of the Christian Sabbath, of the public ordinances of religion, of the sacred character of marriage, and of moral obligations. However, the following pages will inform the reader of the voluntary labours I performed to remove from the district some of these evils. To attain these desirable objects I travelled, by water in a boat, and by land on horseback, within a twelvemonth, about 4,000 miles. I spent much of my time among them, by eating at their tables, and by sleeping in their weather-boarded cottages and in their huts; and in protracted pastoral visitations I attempted to exert a beneficial influence over them by the frequent delivery of cottage lectures. I also performed much voluntary labour to effect in several localities the establishment of schools for their children, and

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the erection of churches, in which the Divine rite of marriage might be solemnised, baptism might be performed, and the ordinances of religion be observed.* The succeeding narrative of details will shew how far my efforts were followed by success. However, the reminiscence of my toils and privations, of my dangers and accidents, of my losses and sacrifices, affords me now no small degree of satisfaction; and my labours facilitated the success of my successor.

During the first three months of my residence at the Hawkesbury, my official duties and private affairs required my presence several times in Sydney, but to get there by the most direct route, I was obliged to ride *twenty-one* miles through the bush before any human habitation cheered my sight, in which I might rest after an exposure of *four* hours to the burning sun, and take some refreshment. To recruit, however, the exhausted powers of myself and horse, the best provisions to be procured were, for myself, a steak cut from a piece of beef taken from the brine, a slice of *damper,* moistened with a cup of tea, without milk, and sweetened with sugar almost as black as my coat; and the feed for my horse was a few cobs of corn and a drink of water. For that accommodation I paid as much as I should in England for a comfortable dinner and a good feed of corn. After that refreshment, I rode *sixteen* miles fur-

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ther, when I arrived at Paramatta, where at an inn I stopped with my horse for the night. For tea, bed, and breakfast, I paid seven shillings and sixpence, and six shillings for my horse. Thence it was more convenient to proceed to Sydney by steamer, and as my business at head quarters would require three days, I left my horse at Paramatta at the rate of six shillings a night, which amounted to eighteen shillings. Indeed, if a friend had not resided at Sydney, in whose house I could have become a guest, my expenses there would have been £1 10s. For my return home there were another trip by the steamer and a night at the inn; and on the next day a ride of sixteen miles to the hut, a baiting, and twenty-one miles more to my residence. Hence, a single journey to and back from Sydney, though, through the acceptance of friendly hospitality at the metropolis I there incurred no expense, the outlay of the journey amounted to £3 5s. During the first three months of my residence at the Lower Hawkesbury, *three* of those fatiguing and somewhat perilous journeys were taken, at a cost of £9 15s. 6d.

My domestic establishment on the banks of the Hawkesbury comprised myself and two convict servants, one of them a *seven*, the other a *fourteen* years' prisoner of the crown; and to provide for my small family I

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appropriated a room in my house for a general store. Five pounds I expended in casks to hold my necessary stores, which consisted of some *twenty* bushels of flour, undressed, to preserve it from the weevil; a bag of Mauritius sugar, and a quarter chest of tea; a cwt. of salt, a salted pig, and a quarter of a bullock; a case of soap, and sundry other necessary articles. My elder servant, who, through refractory conduct and drunkenness, had been several times punished by flogging and working in road gangs, I appointed my overseer, or steward, and entrusted him with the key of the stores. By the regulations of the Colonial Government, I was required to supply my servants weekly with 8 pounds of flour, 7 of beef, or 4½lbs. of pork; and yearly with two suits of slops; but, for their encouragement, I gave each of them 10½lbs. of beef, or 7lbs. of pork, 12lbs. of flour, 2 ounces of tea, 1½lb. of sugar, and 2 ounces of tobacco; and yearly, instead of perpetuating their degradation by the wearing of slop clothing, I gave to the man who acted as overseer £10, and to the other £8, on condition that they should purchase suitable clothing, and allow me to be their banker for the remainder of their money until they quitted my service. With these equitable and judicious arrangements my servants served me with fidelity and cheerfulness; protected my property, and

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consulted my interests; nursed me in sickness, and defended me in danger. Therefore, I take to myself no credit for that particular government of my family, because, had I been influenced simply by expediency, the line of policy that I adopted would have been profitable to me. And this will appear plain by a reference to the circumstances of my two predecessors.

Two gentlemen preceded me in the spiritual charge of the district of the Lower Hawkesbury: the latter an ordained clergyman, the former a catechist. This gentleman had been engaged in commercial pursuits, and had been a supercargo in a merchant vessel; he had not, however, through his extensive experience, learned the important art of self-government; and, as a consequence, could not govern his servants. So little authority, indeed, had he acquired by the exercise of firmness and of kindness over his convict servants, that while he was rowed by them in the government boat on the Hawkesbury, or on one of its tributaries, they threatened to throw him overboard. That threat, I doubt not, would have required but little provocation to have prompted its execution. His successor, who possessed a mild and timid disposition, and who through life had been under the influence of stronger minds and more determined wills than his own, seldom relied on his

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own judgment, but treated his servants in accordance with the instructions he had received from a notorious emancipist, named Solomon Wiseman, self-designated the King of the Branch. But, as I intend to give my readers a sketch of this man's *career* in crime, and of his character, he shall for the present be placed in the background. This mild and feeble, this timid and subservient chaplain, whenever he was in difficulties with his servants, repaired for advice to the Solomon of the Hawkesbury. As the old emancipist hated free immigrants of respectability, he experienced a fiendish pleasure in disturbing the peace of his clerical friend's domestic establishment; and therefore, for the attainment of that purpose, his advice was given. The consequence was, the servants of my immediate predecessor were often punished by having their extra rations stopped, and by flagellation; and after that abuse of delegated authority some of them took to the bush. A few weeks before I relieved him of his official charge, he had five acres of wheat ripe; and for the reaping and stacking of it he promised *three* of his servants £2 each. But during the progress of the harvest one of them committed some real or imaginary offence, and the clergyman told him that as a punishment he would not give him the promised reward. What, however, was the result of that breach of promise?

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The grain was reaped, dried, and stacked; but on the morning after the completion of those operations, there was exhibited to the sight of the gentleman who had broken his promise, not a fine wheat stack, but a heap of ashes; and though, on the preceding night, the servant maid had seen the prisoner near the stack with a light in his hand, yet, as no one saw him apply it to the wheat, the district magistrate, before whom he was summoned on the charge of arson, was reluctantly constrained to discharge him. To punish the man, however, by indirect means, for some minor offence, he was flogged, and then turned into government.

Now I return to Solomon Wiseman. His antecedents were the following: During the death struggle with England with Napoleon Bonaparte, the Governments, both of England and of France, encouraged by the promise of high pay, a system of espionage. Hence, Englishmen betrayed the interests of their country for French gold, and Frenchmen revealed the secrets of the camp and of the court of France for English pensions. To convey those patriots across the Channel small vessels were required, the commanders of which were more under the influence of gold than of patriotism; and among that class was our friend Solomon Wiseman. To attain this object he had

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no scruples to accommodate both governments. Sometimes he took in his sloop from the coast of England spies in the pay of the Court of St. James's; and at others returned with a number of Frenchmen to inspect our ports and arsenals, our fleets and armies, our material wealth and national spirit; and, in regard to these particulars, a faithful report was sent to Napoleon. During one of these excursions the British cruisers espied the craft of Solomon, chased, and boarded her; and the *Wiseman*, by becoming a prisoner proved the folly of his professional career. His crime was a compound of smuggling and treason. He was tried for his life, and was convicted and condemned to die; but, in a memorial presented to Lord Bathurst, at that time the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the mitigating circumstances were inserted, that the prisoner, perhaps, by his profession of smuggling spies into the hostile countries, had done more service to the British Government than he had injury to its interests. That representation, and the influence of bribes given to subordinates, induced the Colonial Secretary to commute his sentence of death into transportation for life. Solomon Wiseman, though illiterate, was a man of considerable natural ability, and deeply read in the corruption of human nature. Hence, after his arrival at Sydney, and the procurement of some conditional

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liberty, he began to exercise his peculiar power of falsehood and fraud, of bribery and corruption. During his residence on the banks of the Hawkesbury, between the years 1820 and 1830, he, by the exercise of those arts, ingratiated himself into the favour of some of the heads of departments in the colonial government; and through their corrupt influence obtained, on advantageous terms, government contracts for the supply of rations to large road gangs that were employed in the making of a road from Sydney to Maitland; for though, as he informed me, his estimates were by no means the lowest tendered to the Government, yet, through the judicious distribution of bribes, in the form of presents, to the commissary general, to the superintendent of prisoners, and to other officials, his estimates were accepted. By these corrupt means he was, when I was introduced to him by his friend the Chaplain of the Lower Hawkesbury, a person of considerable wealth and of local influence. But, with the termination of the old Tory domination, and with the triumph of the Whig party in 1830, his spoliation from the colonial treasury for ever terminated. Sir Richard Bourke, the first Whig Governor of the territory of New South Wales, was, in the main, an honest an upright governor, possessed of a comprehensive mind, an independent and sound

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judgment, and a strong will. He would not, therefore, be ruled by corrupt officials, but he himself presided over the various departments of government.

Some remarks on the abuse of the assignment system may not be misplaced here, and which was grossly and injuriously abused by Solomon Wiseman and persons of his description of character. The indulgence of a ticket of leave was given, under the assignment system, on the recommendation of masters, to prisoners sentenced to seven years at the expiration of four years; to those transported for fourteen years and for life at the termination of six and eight respectively; but the unprincipled Solomon continued to quarrel with a valuable servant, when his ticket became due, that he might have the opportunity to prefer against him a charge to the magistrates, and therefore have his ticket withheld for another twelve months. This iniquitous practice operated as a discouragement to meritorious men to an extent that in not a few cases their characters became changed; and, to escape from such a tyranny, they became bush-rangers, and injurious to the property and lives of respectable settlers, through the cruel injustice of such men as Solomon Wiseman.

The general influence of the assignment system was of the most demoralising character. To the prisoners it

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was a state of domestic slavery; and on the characters of the masters it impressed the principles and habits of slave-holders: for that system produced and fostered in them the most selfish and malignant passions. Hence, on the part of masters there prevailed injustice and cruelty; and, in regard to the servants, fraud and treachery. Under the influence of revenge, their masters' time was wasted, and their property destroyed; their persons injured and their lives sacrificed. Yes, it was a disgusting spectacle to see members, deacons, and pastors of christian churches, professedly based on the principles of the gospel of Christ, appearing before a bench of magistrates with a charge of impertinence against their cooks and gardeners, their grooms and coachmen; and to have their vindictive feelings gratified by the announcement of the sentence of *fifty lashes* against, perhaps, their provoked servants. I rejoice, therefore, that during a residence of four years in the Australian colonies, I never, directly or indirectly, caused a single lash to be inflicted on the back of a prisoner of the crown; but that I invariably exerted my official and personal influence to mitigate the sufferings of the prisoners.

However, the treatment of Government servants, even by professedly religious men, was not invariably in accordance with the principles of justice and humanity. For,

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during my intercourse with a gentleman who had been a deacon, and was then an influential member of a christian church, I was personally cognisant of the following facts. The man cook on a certain day had not dressed the meat to please his master, for which offence his master, in a haughty manner and an imperious tone, scolded him. The servant mildly denied the charge of neglect, and in respectful language defended himself. This defence so much provoked this meek disciple of the divine and loving Jesus Christ that he became overcome with indignant rage, and because the man did not retire immediately at his bidding, he at once sent another servant for a constable, to have the man confined in the cell, until he could prefer a charge against him before the bench of magistrates. Under these circumstances, though only a guest in his house, I felt it to be my duty to remonstrate with him, especially when this quondam *lord* deacon said he would have him flogged. Influenced by surprise that I should presume to question the propriety of his conduct, he called his wife into the room, and with evident displeasure, said, "Louisa, Mr. Atkins says that I should not have William flogged." I repeated my remonstrance against the proposed flogging for these two reasons: first, because the offence did not deserve the infliction of corporal punishment, and the second,

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because former floggings had not, in his own opinion, produced the desired effect. The next morning the master appeared against his man cook on the charge of impertinence; but when, on his sole evidence taken on oath, the magistrate was about to sentence the man to receive fifty lashes, his master, influenced by my remonstrance, said, as the man had not been cured of impertinence by a former flogging, he requested his Worship to inflict on him some other punishment. In compliance with this request, the man was sentenced to be confined in the cell *eight* days. However, a few months only elapsed before this servant who, so far as I had an opportunity to observe his behaviour, was respectful and obliging, but who was under the authority of an illiterate upstart and a petty tyrant, took to the bush, and probably terminated, in penal servitude or on the gallows, what might, under more just and humane treatment, have been a useful life and happy death. The following incident will show the pernicious effects of the late assignment system on children of respectable families. During the altercation between the master and servant, a little girl, about six years old, heard the enraged father say he would have the cook flogged, and on hearing of this pleasing intelligence she ran into the nursery, and with joyful accents, said, "William is going

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to be scourged." Yes, this barbarous and cruel system of corporal punishment produced an indurating effect on the feelings of the upper classes of Australian society from their infancy; and strengthened their natural passions of malignity and selfishness. Indeed, it was a curse to the degraded prisoners, and to their unprincipled, selfish, and cruel task-masters.

My official labours, prescribed by authority and self-imposed, were numerous and diversified. Under the influence of the former, I officiated twice on a Sunday at *four* temporary churches; during the week I visited two schools; and once a quarter travelled to Mangrove Creek, Brisbane Water, and the Wolombi. Prompted by inclination and a sense of duty, I visited nearly every house on the banks of the Hawkesbury, the Colo, and the Macdonald Rivers; on the banks of Mangrove Creek, and the shores of Brisbane Water. During those visits, some of which occupied a week, I employed my official and personal influence to establish schools and to procure schoolmasters; to build churches, and to obtain resident clergymen in new districts to be formed for the inhabitants of the Macdonald River and of Brisbane Water; and the objects that I laboured to accomplish have, partly through my exertions, since been attained. But, at the expiration

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of fifteen months, because I disapproved of the ecclesiastical arrangements, I sacrificed an income of £350 a year, resigned my appointment, and, at an expense of £100, embarked for India, with the intention of devoting my energies to Missionary Work.

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CHAPTER VII.

PASSAGE TO CALCUTTA.

Incidents of the Passage—Introduction to the Rev. Thomas Boaz—Author's Superintendence of the Calcutta Sailors' Home—Its General Management—The Injurious Results of it, both in regard to the Establishment and on the habits of the Superintending Secretary—Author's attempts at Reform—His Reward as a Reformer.

HAVING settled my affairs at Sydney, on the 1st of September, 1838, I went on board the bark Drummore, bound for Calcutta; and, for an average passage of *ten* weeks, I paid £80, as a cabin passenger, in a vessel of 300 tons; but with a cabin, or berth, which, through the heat and cockroaches, I was obliged to abandon, and sleep in the cuddy. The cabin table was supplied with provisions inferior in quality, and scanty in quantity, though from four passengers the owners must have received about £400. During the passage to Calcutta, I gratuitously discharged the duties of chaplain, by the performance of Divine service on Sunday morning, when the weather was favourable. As, however, from conscientious motives, and on public grounds, I had in Australia resigned a chaplaincy worth £350 a year, and at

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an expense of £100 had taken a passage to Calcutta, for the purpose of offering my services to the London Missionary Society as one of their missionary agents, I felt at times during the passage considerable anxiety in regard to my reception by the Calcutta committee of the general society; for with the missionaries stationed at Calcutta I had no personal acquaintance, nor, indeed, did I personally know any gentleman in that presidency of the Indian Empire. But, having in faith cast myself on the providence of God, who has said, "In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths," I waited with general composure of mind the arrival of the Drummore at Calcutta.

Of the pilot who boarded our bark I made some inquiries in regard to the names and local influence of the resident missionaries; and from him learnt that the Rev. Thomas, now Dr. Boaz, was the minister of Union Chapel, and a gentleman of liberal sentiments, active benevolence, and kindly feelings. With that description of Dr. Boaz, I, soon after the vessel cast anchor, went ashore, and directed my course to his residence. He was from home, but I waited his return, and in a few words, stated where I had been, how I had been employed, and for what purpose I had come to Calcutta; and, on the strength of my verbal statement, and the production of some confirmatory documents, he

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invited me to become his guest. The next morning he introduced me to two of his missionary brethren; but, as the Corresponding Secretary had been apprised by the Foreign Secretary in London of the embarkation of three missionaries for Calcutta, the local committee could not enter into any arrangement with me at that time and under those circumstances. As, therefore, a sphere of missionary labour was not immediately opened to me; as I had sacrificed the emoluments of office in Australia; and had, within £50, consumed my pecuniary resources by the expense of a passage to India, it suited neither my convenience nor inclination to return to England without having first attempted the accomplishment of some object worthy of the sacrifices in official influence, pecuniary advantages, and personal comfort, which I had made. Hence, under these circumstances, and having the sympathies of Dr. Boaz, I, through his personal and official influence, within *ten* days after my arrival at Calcutta, procured the appointment of Superintending Secretary to the Calcutta Sailors' Home; and in a few weeks the additional office of Minister to the Bethel. The emoluments of these appointments fully compensated me for the pecuniary sacrifices I had made in Australia.

But, through the accursed influence of the *liquor* traffic,

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and the drinking habits of sailors, I found my position at the Home anything but agreeable; and for these reasons:—The houses of agency which supported the Home were extensively engaged in the sale of beer, wine, and spirits; about half the number of the committee of management were directly or indirectly interested in the poisonous and destructive trade; and their influence was employed to encourage the use of beer, wine, and spirits among the inmates of the Home; for though through the influence of Dr. Boaz and his friends the sale of alcoholic drinks had been limited in the Home, yet the regulations of the establishment allowed a sufficient quantity to be sold at the bar, if not to produce intoxication, to create in the sailors the appetite, and to excite the longing for strong drink; and then they had to repair merely to the punch-house to gratify their appetites and to satisfy their desires. These were practices of daily occurrence; and what were the consequences? Men were brought home daily, at all hours, in a state of intoxication; and during the nights my rest was broken by numbers of them scaling the walls on their return from punch-houses and brothels. Therefore, under such management, the Calcutta Sailors' Home was a curse rather than a blessing to the seamen and the owners of ships; for as board and lodging were

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given to sailors for *nine-pence* a day, to petty officers for a shilling, and to chief officers for eighteen-pence, and as all the inmates of the Home were required to deposit their money in my hands, and were allowed to draw daily one or more rupees to meet their current expenses, the facilities were afforded to many to continue a course of debauchery for weeks, and even for months, in a tropical climate, which weakened their physical energies, produced dangerous diseases, and inflicted the penalty of premature death. If, on being paid off at Calcutta these men had gone to a punch-shop, most of them in a few days would have been fleeced of their money, and then have been re-shipped by crimps; and therefore would have been removed from the pernicious and fatal influences of strong drink, loathsome diseases, and a climate surcharged with malaria. Still further to show the evils of the government of the house, I will give my readers a few additional particulars.

The Reverend Superintending Secretary and Minister of the Bethel was a licensed victualler; and to be allowed to sell, on behalf of the executive committee, beer, wine, and spirits, he paid the Government *thirty rupees* a month. Yes, the managers of the Calcutta Sailors' Home paid £36 a year for permission to pauperise and madden; to incite to the perpetration of crime; to cast into the drunkard's

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grave the numerous objects of their professed benevolence; and to attain these objects they supplied me, as their chief instrument, with a large and diversified stock; for in the stores under my charge there was beer, in barrels and in bottles; wines—port, sherry, and claret, in dozens; spirits —brandy, gin, and rum, in large quantities. On one occasion I purchased, on account of the establishment, *forty-four dozen of French brandy.* Hence, the abuses of the bar-keeper, the prevalence of disorder and intoxication, the fighting by day, and the acts of burglary by night, constrained me to bring the whole subject before the general committee; and having specified the evils of the liquor traffic in the Home, and the inefficiency of the existing regulations, I pointed out, as the only remedy, the relinquishment of the license, and the discontinuance of the sale of alcoholic drinks. But my exposure and proposition raised against me a storm of opposition from those members of the committee who had a pecuniary interest in the consumption of strong drinks; and, as an illustration of the animus by which they were prompted, I will mention one incident. One member of the committee—who then held a government appointment, but who formerly had been the master of a merchant vessel—was, during his visits at the Home, in the habit of saying to the servants, "Push the

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bar!" And with such an official prompter, what restraining influence could I exert? Therefore, the immediate result of my attempt to reform the institution was the evoking of a spirit, which constrained me, at the expiration of twelve months from my appointment, to resign my office. But, as I was a subscriber to the Home to the amount of 25 rupees annually, I determined at the next annual meeting of the subscribers, after the reading of the annual report, to move an amendment; and some time before the meeting was held I informed the secretaries of my purpose. At that meeting I detailed the evils of the system, and recommended the adoption of total abstinence principles. The important facts I stated caused the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry into the working of the system; and at an adjourned meeting that committee made a report. But the committee consisted of the traffickers in alcoholic drinks, and therefore they ignored in their report my facts, and made statements in accordance with the interested views of the principal subscribers. My opposition, however, produced the dissolution of the unnatural alliance between religious and worldly men; for the two honorary secretaries, Dr. Boaz and his friend and deacon, Archibald Grant, Esq., were, though with reluctance, driven from their official positions by the predominating influence of the mercantile

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members of the committee, so that the principle of being unequally yoked is dangerous, not only in matrimony, but also in benevolent societies.

After my resignation of the offices of superintending secretary of the Calcutta Sailors' Home, and of minister to the Bethel—for my connexion with both societies terminated in November, 1839—I lived in retirement at a suburb of Calcutta, named Allipore, until the 1st of December, 1840. During that interval of twelve months I was employed in the study of the Greek and Bengali languages, in the reading of ecclesiastical history, and of theology, and in the gratuitous instruction of native youths, at my own house, in the New Testament, and in the British Classics. During that time I gave to the Baptist mission a donation of 25 rupees, and, at the request of the deacons of Circular Road Chapel, which belonged to that mission, preached *gratuitously* about six times. But the anxieties and difficulties of the last two years had weakened my constitution, and to some extent had obscured my prospects in India; and therefore, to renovate my exhausted powers of mind and body, and to seek a congenial sphere of labour, I made arrangements to return to New South Wales.

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CHAPTER VIII.

BRITISH INDIA.

Author's Voyage to Calcutta, with its Reminiscences—Torres Straits—Copang—The Sand Heads—The Pilot Service—The Vessels at Calcutta—British India—Its Importance—The Service of the East India Company—Its Eminent Servants—The Influence of Missionary Labours in India—The Hindoo College—The Educational Establishment under the Superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Duff.

Before, however, I give a narrative of this second passage to Sydney, and the results of it, it may interest some of my readers to have a little additional information in regard to my first voyage to Calcutta, and the impression produced on my mind in regard to our Indian Empire, during a residence in the Presidency of Bengal for two years.

Previously to narrating these particulars, I will give a general but brief description of the physical geography of India, and a sketch of the history of this valuable dependency of the British Empire.

The physical geography of India comprises its superficial area; the elevation of table lands, and ranges of mountains; the mighty rivers and numerous streams; and in round

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numbers, British India is from north to south 1800, and from east to west 1500, miles. The mountain ranges are the Ghauts, on the western or Malabar coast; the Vindhya in central India; and the Himalayas, extending from Bhootan, in 93° E. Long. and 27° N. Lat.; to 73° E. Long. and 34° N. Lat.: a distance, in a north-westerly direction, of at least 1000 miles. From this range of mountains—the highest on the surface of our globe—issue about *thirty* streams, which, by a division into several parts, and then by their union, form several large rivers. These also, by a similar arrangement, provide the waters for the Brahmapootra, the Ganges, and the Indus. And these majestic rivers, through the influence of their tributary streams, and the rapidity and length of their courses, annually bring in their descent large quantities of soil, composed of vegetable and animal matter, which, during their annual overflow, are deposited in the plains and valleys. On the retirement of these streams to their natural beds, they leave, for the use of some 100,000,000 of human beings, a rich deposit of soil, suitable to produce in great abundance and fine quality rice and indigo, the poppy and the sugar-cane; and, in addition to these, a large variety of nutritious and delicious fruits.

Peninsular India was inhabited at an early period after

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the dispersion of mankind through the confusion of tongues and a civilized people were spread over the plains of India and resided on the banks of its rivers at the time when the arts of civilized life flourished in ancient Egypt under the government of Joseph, 1650 years B.C. About 500 years before the Christian era, Darius, one of the kings of the Persian Empire, marched an army into central Asia, invaded India, and took some part of the territory bordering on the Indus. On the overthrow of the Persian power by Alexander the Macedonian, that restless conqueror extended his Asiatic conquest as far as Scinde and the Punjaub. This successful expedition was undertaken 327 B.C. The last *authentic* account recorded in ancient history, of an invasion from the west into India, was made by Seleucus who succeeded Alexander in the Syrian part of his immense empire. This victorious general and powerful monarch had previously accompanied his master, as an officer in his army, throughout his Indian campaigns. The conquests of Seleucus, it is probable, extended into the provinces of the Upper Ganges. Therefore, from about 300 years B.C. until the eighth or ninth century of the Christian era, fully 1000 years, the native rulers of India were comparatively, if not entirely, free from foreign invasion, and had simply to defend their hereditary possessions from the encroachments

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of ambitious and unscrupulous neighbours. But about the latter period, the *Eastern* successors of Mohammed pushed their conquests to Cabul, and afterwards from Afghanistan to Delhi; and at length founded the Mogul Empire.

The ostensible mission of these sanguinary conquerors was the overthrow of idolatry, and the establishment of a politico-ecclesiastical despotism: the substance of which is, "There is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." During their dominion in India, until 1757, when the British, under the delegated power granted by the supreme government to the East India Company, wrested from the Mussulman the supremacy of India, Mohammedanism had been propagated by the sword in many of the provinces of Peninsular India; for, at Moorshedabad, in Bengal; at Delhi, and the north-western provinces; and at Seringapatam, in the country of Mysore; the voluntary and *involuntary* converts to the Mohammedan faith numbered some 15,000,000.

But here I unhesitatingly assert, that during the supremacy of the Mohammedans in India, comprising a period of 700 years, the lives and property of the peaceable inhabitants were very insecure. The government officials were characterised by gross extortion; bands of midnight robbers, often numbering 150, surrounded the houses of

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wealthy citizens, and they attacked and destroyed whole villages when disappointed of plunder. Also a professedly religious fraternity of *murderers*, named Thugs, who during their murderous and plundering excursions through the provinces of India assumed the garb and character of merchants, but having joined a company of *real* merchants or of pilgrims, would in the silence of night enter the tents of their fellow travellers, and with a silken cord strangle them, seize their property, and then inter their bodies.

The Mussulman rulers, however, spent large sums of money—though much of it was the fruit of extortion—in the erection of magnificent palaces, of gorgeous mosques, and splendid mausoleums; as well as in the construction of public works of great and general utility. These consisted in the excavation of canals, the building of bridges, the formation of roads, and in providing for dry lands the means of extensive irrigation. Hence, in some of these respects, they conferred on their Hindoo subjects more benefits than their professedly Christian successors.

The chief objects of interest that were presented to my view on the passage to Calcutta were the shoals and islands in Torres Straits, and the Island of Timor that we visited. The passage through Torres Straits was, to modern

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navigators, what Scylla and Charybdis were to the ancients; for, in their attempts, during the first quarter of the present century, to cross these straits, many vessels were wrecked, a large number of lives lost, and much property destroyed. On several occasions the survivors of the wrecks fell into the hands of savages, who murdered their victims and devoured their bodies. Therefore, with intelligence of these alarming facts, we approached the straits with caution, not unmixed with anxiety. On entering Torres Straits the scene was beautiful, grand, and sublime. The influence of a tropical sun on the shoally water produced a diversity of colours, in resemblance to a green shade in ribbons; the barrier reef, which rose like a wall and formed a belt for many miles between the mainland and the Pacific Ocean, between which was contained the barrier reef passage, presented an object of surpassing grandeur; and within a few miles of our course, and plainly visible to the naked eye, were several wrecks of vessels, which having lost the channel had been wrecked on the reefs. But we were favoured with delightful weather, a prosperous breeze, and a smooth sea; and under these propitious influences we anchored the first day after our entrance into the straits about four o'clock p.m., in three fathoms of water, and three miles from an island. About an hour before sunset, I,

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in company with another passenger and the chief officer, visited that island in a boat. Its extent was small, it was covered with timber, the refuge of millions of birds and waterfowl; and on its shores were numerous shells and pieces of coral. One fine specimen I took from the beach, and carried it to Calcutta. The water near the island was transparently clear, and the sandy bottom of the sea was visible through *eight* feet of water. The shortness of the twilight, between the setting of the sun and the approach of darkness, deceived us, and on our return to the vessel we were exposed to some danger. However, through the skill of our pilot, and the perseverance of the boat's crew, we reached the bark in safety about an hour after it had been enveloped in the dark shades of night. During the night the anchor having drifted from its hold, through the sandiness of the bottom of the sea, the next morning, while taking in the cable, the vessel several times struck the bottom with considerable force. This unfavourable occurrence produced surprise and some degree of alarm. The captain hoisted a signal of distress to a vessel that had accompanied us from Sydney, but the signal was not answered. Then I heard the captain ask the chief officer if, by putting on more sail, there would be a probability of getting off the shoal, and his reply was that it was

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our only chance. With that reply the order was given to hoist more sail; and favoured by a sandy bottom, a smooth sea, a fair wind, and a press of canvas, the bark was driven over the shoal into deep water. The change in the colour, from pea-green to dark-blue, was very agreeable to our sight. As, during the continuance of our danger, the preponderance of chances was, that we should have to abandon the vessel, and take to the boats, with the prospect of a passage for 1000 miles, in an open boat, and on the Pacific Ocean, I quietly went to my cabin, and took thence my watch and 53 sovereigns, which, on the occurrence of such an event, I could carry on my person. But with this temporary obstruction, we in safety proceeded on our course, and in a few days sighted the Island of Timor, which we made to procure a supply of water.

Timor belongs to the Dutch, and on its coast there is a Dutch settlement at Copang. Five of us went ashore there, walked over some parts of the island, dined at the house of one of the officials, a person of colour, and saw a native Rajah in a state of captivity, but in the enjoyment of some personal freedom. We there saw some Chinese emigrants in the possession of domestic comforts, dealers in sandal-wood; and the heads of these families educated at home their own children. There was a resident chaplain

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for the Dutch-speaking population, but the natives, though in a state of comparative civilisation, were, I fear, without any religious instruction or educational advantages. Having procured a supply of water, after a detention of forty-eight hours, we proceeded on the passage, reached the Sand Heads early in November, 1838, proceeded to Kedgeree, thence to Diamond Harbour, and then up the Hooghly to Calcutta. From the Sand Heads to Diamond Harbour, a distance of perhaps 150 miles, the shores are very low; and the navigation is obstructed by numerous and shifting sand banks, formed by the large deposits of soil annually washed down the Ganges, and deposited in different localities. These operations of nature, the work of an aqueous agency, produce changes so great in the course of navigation from the Sand Heads to Calcutta, that, to prevent the destruction of life and property, and even to render navigation practicable, a large, educated, and respectable pilot staff is constantly required.

Indeed, the pilots of Calcutta, it is probable, are the most numerous, respectable, and best remunerated of their class in the world. They comprise, I presume, some hundreds, and are divided into four classes. The lowest of these are called Volunteers, and are employed in the casting of the lead during the progress of the vessel. The next

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class are termed Assistant-Master Pilots; and men must rise to this class before they can take charge of a vessel. The next in the ascending scale are Master Pilots, and in general they take precedence over their assistants in the size of the vessels of which they take charge. The highest class are denominated Branch Pilots. These experienced navigators of the intricate passages in the Hooghly River have the command of the pilot brigs which have a supply of pilots, and are employed in cruising without the Sand Heads; and the privileged pilots can make their own selection of vessels of which to take charge. The salaries and perquisites of these pilots vary according to the grade, from £150 to £1000 per annum: at least, that was about the scale of income during my residence at Calcutta. Their labours, however, are arduous and responsible, requiring great local experience and constant attention; and their exertions are facilitated by the employment of large and powerful steam tugs.

Under the mercantile monopoly of the East India Company, their ships, of from fourteen to eighteen hundred tons, did not proceed further than Diamond Harbour; and the shipments and re-shipments of cargo to and from Calcutta were conveyed in small vessels; but, under the operation of free trade, magnificent vessels of fourteen

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hundred tons' burden are towed up to Calcutta at spring tides with very few casualties. These ships for width of beam, for splendour of accommodation, for the amount, richness, and variety of supplies for the cabin passengers, exceed the conception of any mere landsman; and frequently in one of their splendid saloons from twenty to forty ladies and gentlemen partake of the luxuries of a table, during three or four months, such as only the first hotels in London provide for the entertainment of their inmates.

The British dominions in India are highly valuable, of great extent, intersected by three large trunk rivers, with numerous tributary streams. These are the Brahmapootra, the Ganges, and the Indus. The latter forms the western boundary, the former the eastern. The Ganges, however, is the most valuable, for on its deltas, and on the deposits of its tributaries, several large cities stand, and perhaps 70,000,000 of human beings subsist. Among these cities are Calcutta, Agra, and Delhi. Now, the British possessions in India are divided into four presidencies, namely, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the North-western, of which Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Agra, are the seats of Government; and in round numbers are separated from each other by the distance of 1000 miles. From Calcutta, the chief presidency and seat of the supreme government

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of India, Agra is distant about 700 miles, Madras about 1000, and Bombay about 1100; the first in a north-westerly direction, the second in a south-westerly, and the third in a westerly direction. To the civil, military, and medical servants of the Company a residence at the presidencies is in general an object of desire; and appointments at them are obtained sometimes through favour, but more frequently through the performance of meritorious services.

The civil service comprises several departments; and the most important of them are the political, the revenue, and judicial. The heads of these departments possess a political, a financial, and a judicial power almost despotic; and their official responsibilities are immense. Their salaries are from £4,000 to £6,000 per annum, by monthly payments in rupees. Above these rise in political importance and princely incomes the commissioners of provinces, members of council, and governors of presidencies. The Governor-General of India, the representative of British Majesty, exercises a political power over 150,000,000, or one-sixth of the human race; and, to support his state, receives a salary of £25,000 per annum.

The military establishments, before the breaking out of the late mutiny, numbered about 250,000 native troops, composed of infantry and cavalry, and some batteries of

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artillery; and 40,000 European soldiers, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The engineers, the scientific departments of the artillery, the generals of divisions, and the military-political agents, comprise some of the most scientific and bravest soldiers, sagacious politicians, and consummate commanders in the world; and it would have redounded to the honour of Britain if, on the embarkation of British troops for the Crimea, some of these military stars of our eastern dominions had guided the operations of that memorable campaign.

In both the services of the East India Company there are many gentlemen occupying responsible and influential positions, eminent for their comprehensive and highly disciplined minds; for the extent and accuracy of their professional knowledge and general information; for enlarged christian charity and expansive benevolence: for no small number of the Company's most eminent servants are ever ready, by their purse, by the prosecution of scientific discoveries and improvements in the arts, by the encouragement of education among the natives, and the dissemination of western literature, by the circulation of the Scriptures, and the extension of christian missions, to increase the resources of India, and to benefit its inhabitants. And to what are we to ascribe, during the progress of the present

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century, in the character and habits of the civil and military officers of the East India Company, this elevation of moral sentiment, this disinterested benevolence, this christian charity, this personal religion? These, doubtless, are to no inconsiderable extent the legitimate results of modern and evangelical Protestant Christian missions. For though, during the last half of the preceding century, the *moral* influence of our Clives and Hastings, of our Francis and Turlays, and of some of our general officers, was highly injurious to the progress of Christianity among the natives of India, yet the great spiritual power which has been exhibited in the public and private lives of Schwartz and Martin, of Cary and Yates, of Lacroix and Boaz, of Duff and Wilson, of Heber, Cory, and Dr. Wilson, and of many other devoted chaplains and missionaries in more humble spheres of labour, has raised Christianity from a state of degradation, rescued it out of the hands of its enemies, and protected it from the injuries of false friends; and has presented it, both to native beholders and nominal Christians, "Fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners." If, therefore, the labours of the Bible, of the Religious Tract and Book, and of Missionary Societies, had only cultivated the intellects and hearts, purified the characters and refined the tastes of our country-

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men in India, the consecration of wealth, mind, and life which have been spent in the attainment of these moral and spiritual objects, would be an ample reward for all the sacrifices in money, time, and life, which have been made. But these are merely a part of the results of Christian missions in India. They have, to a great extent, abolished the unnatural and cruel practices of infanticide and the exposure of the aged, the burning of Hindoo widows, and the murders of Juggernaut; and through their indirect influence on native society, thousands of Brahminical beggars, who feasted on public industry, and polluted society by their vices, *now* are useful members of the community, by earning an honest and a respectable livelihood in their several callings in Government offices and in commercial establishments. But even these trophies are not *all* the results of the missionary enterprise; for there are scattered over the four presidencies of India thousands of real and intelligent native Christians, hundreds of mission schools and native catechists, and scores of Christian ministers of Hindoo and Mohammedan origin; and the good work is progressing. On the subject of missions, the character of missionaries, and the influence of Christianity, a great change has been produced in the national mind of the natives, and also on the opinions and practices of the

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Indian Government. In confirmation of the truth of this assertion I will mention one fact.

The Hindoo College at Calcutta was established and supported by government, in which the Hindoo youth were to be instructed in western science and literature. In that institution Christianity, as a system, was ignored, and the Bible was excluded from the class-room and from the library. Professors, eminent in their particular departments, were appointed, and qualified teachers were selected; and the College was attended by hundreds of native youths of the superior *castes*. When this establishment had been in existence some years, and its reputation among the native community established, the General Assembly of Scotland opened in Calcutta their Mission schools, under the superintendence of Dr. Duff and some other ordained clergymen; and, in 1840, the educational staff of that seminary comprised *five* European and ordained missionaries, and several East Indian and native teachers. In that institution the Bible was a text-book read by the scholars, and a regular course of lectures was delivered on the Evidences of Christianity. Dr. Duff and his brethren publicly declared that their principal object was to Christianize the natives. These facts were well known to the native community; yet, in 1840, the influence acquired

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by Dr. Duff and his coadjutors was so great, through the manifestation of high mental and moral power in their persons and in their schools, that even Brahmin fathers hazarded the apostacy of their sons to procure them the privileges of an attendance at the General Assembly's School. At that time Dr. Duff had under his superintendence about 1,000 native youths, many of whom were of the Brahminical *caste;* and the success of this experiment—to sow the seeds of Christianity in the soil of the native heart—has modified the original plans of the other missionary societies. Hence, at present, in Calcutta the London Missionary Society have educational establishments at a cost of £5,000; the Church Missionary Society have schools of a superior class; and the Baptist Society have institutions in which the British christian and secular classics are taught by European missionaries of literary and scientific attainments. With these remarks, I will, for the present, take my leave of India, and request my readers to accompany me to Sydney.

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CHAPTER IX.

PASSAGE TO SYDNEY.

The Sesostris—Its Cargo—Captain—Bass' Straits—The Shipping in Port Jackson—The Transitions in the Value of Property—The Registrar—The Sheriff—The Indurating Effects of Selfishness—The Colonial Embarrassments—Examples of the Ruinous Consequences of Reckless Speculation—The Bank Directors—Sam Terry—His Children—Striking Instances of a Retributive Providence.

On the 1st of December, 1840, I embarked for Australia in the Sesostris, a bark of 500 tons. The cargo, ostensibly consisted of wheat and sugar, but what, in the manifest, was called sugar, was discovered, on examination by the Custom House officers at Sydney, to consist chiefly of contraband tobacco. Without any previous intimation of the captain, we found ourselves in a few days in the Madras Roads, but in his anxiety he ran the vessel beyond the port of Madras, and lost some hours in bearing up to it against a head wind. Having come near enough to hoist a flag, signals passed between him and his agent at Madras; and the result was, the anchor of the bark was cast, and the captain went ashore. The procuring of some additional passengers

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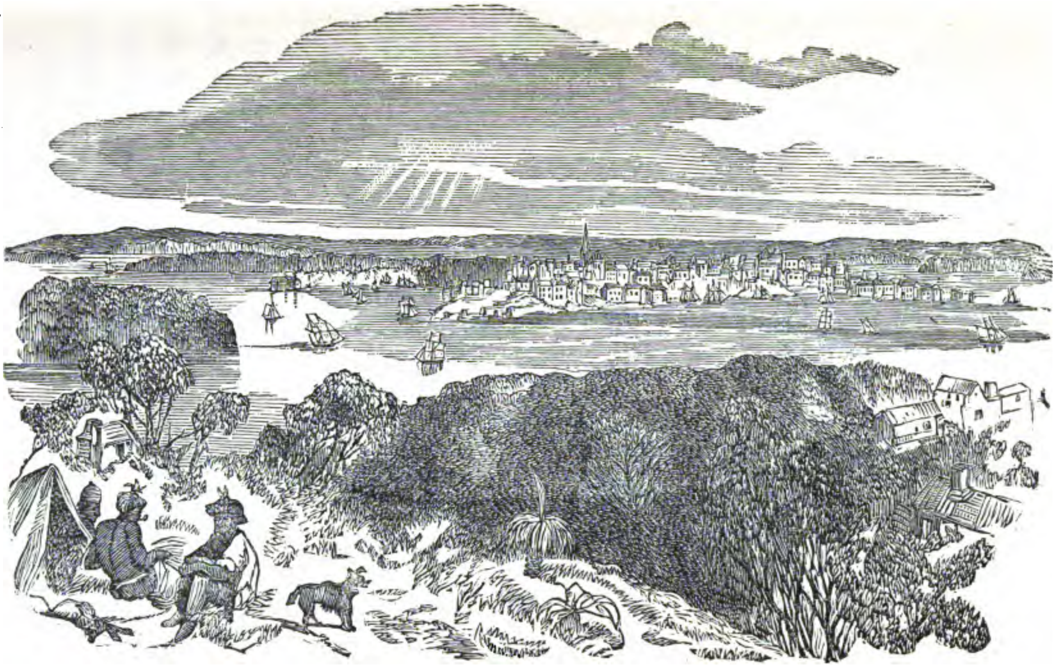

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and freight detained us some six days. Of that detention I availed myself to pay a visit to an old college fellow, and with that intention went ashore. Having entered a palanquin and given directions to the bearers, I proceeded about a mile to the London Mission House; but on inquiry learnt that my friend had left India for England on sick leave. That disappointment induced me to return to the vessel, where I remained until we arrived at Sydney. As the bark was light and a quick sailer, we made a good passage; and in about eight weeks the south-eastern coast of New Holland appeared in view. The captain, who was in part owner of the bark, and had insured it beyond its value, while tacking too near the shore, jeopardized the vessel and all on board. Indeed, as an evidence of his recklessness, the chief officer assured me that on the passage from Sydney to Calcutta, when passing through Torres Straits, the captain endeavoured by indirect means to lose the vessel by wrecking her on the shoals; and I regret to say that is not a solitary instance of the dangers to which property and human life are exposed through the cupidity of ship-owners; for the chief officer of the Drummore, during our passage to Calcutta, and who for several years had commanded vessels out of the port of Newcastle, informed me that he resigned the command of a vessel, and

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shipped to Calcutta as chief mate, because the selfishness of his owners prompted them to require him to leave the port and put to sea, however adverse might be the wind, rough the sea, and unfavourable the weather. Oh! what hecatombs of human beings are annually sacrificed to that rapacious monster, self.

On my passage to India I saw the glories of Torres Straits; now, on my way to Sydney in the Sesostris, I witnessed the dangerous navigation, and also the island beauties which adorn those straits that were discovered by Captain Bass, and thence take the name of their discoverer, Bass' Straits. In these straits the islands are much larger, more numerous, and of greater importance, than the islands in Torres Straits. Several of them are inhabited by a peculiar race of convict deserters, or by their descendants, and procure a precarious subsistence from the sale of feathers stripped from wild geese, which at certain seasons of the year frequent the islands.

About the 25th of February, 1841, the Sesostris made the Sydney Heads, and in about two hours we were at anchor in the Cove. At the time the bark entered Port Jackson the harbours of Sydney contained not fewer than 120 vessels of various sizes and different descriptions. There lay in Darling Harbour sloops from twenty to sixty

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tons, which brought wheat and maize from the Hawkesbury; and there were the Hunter River Steam Company's vessels—the Rose, Shamrock, and Thistle. At these respective wharfs were schooners and brigs employed in the colonial trade; and these carried wheat and merchandise to Port Phillip; oranges, maize, and merchandise to Tasmania; and all these commodities to New Zealand. There were barks and ships from India and Adelaide, from Boston and New York, from London and Liverpool; and out in the stream some of these were receiving their cargoes of wool and oil. This is a description of Port Jackson as it appeared in the beginning of 1841. Since that time, through the rapid growth of Port Phillip, which in 1837 received its first formation into a settlement, but which now is the flourishing colony of Victoria, great changes have been effected in regard to the relative importance of the Australian Colonies, and in the appearance of Sydney and its numerous harbours.

The influence of a temporary disappointment on my arrival at Sydney, and the possession of some money, placed me in a state of comparative inactivity; and therefore I resided in Sydney at a boarding house during the next six months. There I possessed opportunities of which I availed myself, of acquiring information

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on subjects of colonial interest in connection with events that had transpired during my late absence in India. During that interval of thirty months, house rent in Sydney had doubled, but the market value of sheep and wool had decreased a hundred per cent. In 1836 and 1837, some hundred flocks of ewes were sold at from £2 to £3 per head, while between 1841 and 1843, many flocks changed owners at the reduced price of 15s. to 5s. an ewe; and during that time of commercial depression thousands of wethers, after having been driven some hundred miles to find a market, realised not more than 3s. 6d. a head. Wool, that in 1836 produced in the Sydney market 3s. 6d. per lb., in 1843 brought only 1s. 2d. per lb. to the settler. The former rapid and unprecedented rise in the value of every kind of stock, and the latter great depreciation in the nominal worth, produced a revolution among the holders of property. During the first three years, military officers suddenly became disgusted with the service, sold their commissions, purchased sheep, and became settlers; and civilians in government offices exchanged the pen for the crook; and many who could not purchase sheep engaged themselves as superintendents and stewards of pastoral establishments. The heads of the government departments, and the principal merchants of

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Sydney; the latter, dissatisfied with their commercial importance and mercantile profits, appropriated too much of their capital for the purchasing of stock and stations; and the former, not content with their official position and ample salaries, were carried away with the tide of commercial speculation, and emulated the merchants in their offers to purchase sheep, cattle, and horses, and in their biddings for land. The consequences of this determination "to be rich" were, that with the ebb-tide of adversity, many government officials and respectable merchants sustained a wreck of fortune and character; and here, as a warning to others, I will give a few examples.

The Registrar of Intestate Estates, who occupied a mansion called Ultimo House, kept his carriage and pair, and had been for years a leader in Sydney society; he, however, through reckless speculations in stock and land, in 1843 failed, and his creditors deprived him of land and stock, of house and furniture, of horse and equipage; and as, during his pecuniary necessities he omitted to distinguish between *meum* and *tuum*, he appropriated to his personal purposes £3,000 of the money in his official charge belonging to the orphan and widow. Of course this betrayer of his sacred trust lost a lucrative and

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honourable appointment, with a salary of £600 per annum; but he escaped the punishment due to a breach of trust, which, thirty years before, would have procured him a sentence to the gallows.

The Sheriff of the Supreme Court, a gentleman of professedly religious principles, the secretary to the Diocesan Committee, and who enjoyed the confidence and friendship of the bishop, was so much embarrassed through his reckless speculations, chiefly in land, that in 1841, having to pass through the ordeal of making a statement of affairs to a company of select friends, shrank from the trial, and at the age of sixty years, only the night before the proposed meeting, committed suicide by shooting away a part of his head. Among the mercantile class several acts of self-murder were committed; many of them poisoned themselves by immoderate and continuous drinking; and some of these once respectable merchants expired under the influence of delirium tremens. Alas! intense selfishness had produced in the hearts of the citizens of Sydney such an indurating effect, that they could receive the intelligence of these awful catastrophes, not simply unmoved by commiseration, but with expressions of pleasurable emotions. Therefore, my personal observations during that period of commercial distress confirmed the truth of the Apostle's

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statement, "They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition."

During the years, from 1836 to 1840, many sheep farms, including stock and stations, were sold at £2 per head, and in numbers from five to ten thousand sheep; and not unfrequently these sales were effected by the payment of a deposit of ten per cent., and the remaining ninety per cent. of the purchase money remained at the interest of eight to ten per cent. per annum. While the wool realized 3s. 6d. per lb. these pastoral establishments could be maintained, and the interest be regularly paid, but when, in 1841, the price of Australian wool sank to 1s. 2d. per lb., the expenses of supporting large and expensive establishments in the interior of the colony by the residents of Sydney and other towns, through the medium of agents, could not be met, much less interest to the amount of several hundred pounds annually be paid. Hence no small number of the old colonists, who, during the prosperous period sold their stock, received £1,000 in part payment to defray their expenses during a passage to England and a temporary residence in the mother country, received advices from their agents during the time of colonial depression that, as the purchasers of their stock could not meet their

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quarterly payments, they could not send them any remittances. Therefore, these sheep farmers and colonial landed proprietors, who, in 1841, on arriving in England, boasted to their friends that their colonial property produced them in some cases £500, and in others a £1,000 a year, were, in 1842, obliged to return to Sydney to take back their stock and stations, and resume their pastoral avocations under circumstances very different from those under which they three years before left the colony. But the situation of the gentlemen who had puchased their farms and sheep was much more deplorable. Subalterns, captains, and field-officers, having sold their commissions, and sunk in unsuccessful speculations the price of them, were in many cases reduced to want, and became dependent on the bounty of friends; some sank under their misfortunes, had recourse to the bottle, and died in abject poverty the death of the drunkard. Poor civilians were, to procure the necessaries of life, glad to resume their former employment as clerks in government offices, or in mercantile establishments.

Here I will relate one incident, as indicative of the ruinous effects of these reckless speculations on the mercantile community. A gentleman, who, in 1842, occupied part of a house in which I then had apartments, informed

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me that before he speculated in sheep, cattle, and land, he was the owner of £30,000; but the heat from the sun of speculation burnt all his property; and in 1841, he, a certificated bankrupt and as a commission agent, recommenced the world the occupier of part of a house.

When in 1836 I arrived at Sydney, bank shares were considered the safest investment for professional gentlemen, and, therefore, many cautious men who were not inspired with the spirit of speculation, purchased with the savings from their incomes bank shares; but, unfortunately for these speculative gentlemen, the directors of the Sydney banks caught the contagion, and impelled by the determination to be rich, their speculations were conducted on a very extensive scale. With the capital of the banks at their command, these representatives of the shareholders accommodated each other. One director wanted £10,000 to meet his exigencies, another £15,000 and a third £20,000; and in confidential intercourse they explained to each other their necessities and wishes. They possessed the writings of estates that nominally were of considerable value; and these deeds were accepted by the Board of Directors as security for the required sums. To the Bank of Australia, in 1843, the consequences of this accommodating system were these: there remained in the bank comparatively

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little capital to carry on the business; the securities in land, had they been brought into the market, would not have realised half the amount that had been lent on them; and, therefore, the bank was closed, and converted into a Loan Society. In connection with these transactions I will relate some occurrences to show the means which, in the early history of the colony of New South Wales, were used to procure wealth, and the curse of heaven that rested upon ill-gotten gain.

On my first arrival at Sydney, a person, who had acquired notoriety for his crimes, his vices, and his wealth, was brought to my notice: that person was named *Sam Terry*. Both he and his wife had been convicts, and been whipped for colonial offences. He was a man destitute of moral principle, but of great sagacity. He resided in Sydney when town allotments were held by the original grantees. These were discharged soldiers, who appreciating ardent spirits more than allotment of land, exchanged them with Sam Terry for a few gallons of brandy, rum, or gin; and as in the course of a few years the land in Sydney became worth as much as land in Manchester, or even in London, and house rent as high as in Market or Regent Street, our emancipist speculator in 1836 possessed property in Sydney that produced him £40,000 a year; and, in

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addition to this city income, he received a large rental from his estates in the interior. The farms which composed his landed property were, at least most of them, obtained by very iniquitous means. His public house or spirit stores in Sydney was the resort of small settlers, who possessed and occupied farms in the agricultural districts of the colony: and during a stay for several days at his house, they would run up a score of from £5 to £50; for under the influence of *Bacchus*, they would proceed from the drinking of beer to brandy, from brandy to port, from port to champagne; and, prompted by the social and jovial god, would invite all persons in the house to participate in their potations. Constrained by their deity to spend the proceeds of their harvest, in some instances they sold to the landlord their farms, and returned to their homes and families, not the proprietors, but the tenants of the farms. But these facilities for the acquisition of wealth did not satisfy the selfish, rapacious, and idolatrous spirit of Sam Terry. Hence, to increase them he employed other and more diabolical means. If a settler returned home the possessor of his farm, and a debtor to Sam only to the amount of his score, the avaricious wretch would make inquiries in regard to the persons and circumstances of any other creditors the unfortunate settler might have; and having procured the

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necessary information, that heartless man would visit them, and say, "Jack Smith, I understand owes you ten pounds"; and on receiving the answer, "yes," he would add, "If you will make over the account to me, I will pay you." With such an offer an unscrupulous creditor would comply: and therefore, when the amount, by the employment of these means, was large enough, the covetous emancipist would, by the power of an execution, seize on the coveted farm.

Did, however, his ill-gotten wealth prosper? No: for though the Sovereign Proprietor of the universe permitted him to retain his landed estates, to hold his Sydney property to the end of his mortal career, and to grasp his bags of gold on his death-bed, yet scarcely had he been summoned to his account before those riches took wing, and flew from his children, who inherited them on the decease of their father. These children were a drunken and dissipated son, who possessed and occupied a fine farm on the Windsor Road, about twenty-five miles from Sydney, and two daughters, who were married and resided in Sydney. One of these women was his own daughter by his first wife; and the other was the daughter of his wife by a former husband. The latter was married to John Terry Hughes, a nephew of the old convict; the former to John Hoskins, another nephew. These men constituted

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the large firm of Hughes and Hoskins, merchants, ship-owners, and government contractors; and the speculative propensities of Hughes prompted him to purchase ships, with their cargoes, he had not seen; to expend £20,000 in the building of an hotel that did not return him 2½ per cent. for his money; and to commence the building of houses, to continue in an unfinished state, worth some thousand pounds a year. His want of moral principle and commercial integrity induced him to deny his signature affixed to bills and promissory notes, and to delay the time for payment, to oblige the holders of them to prove the reality of his signature in the Supreme Court of Sydney. These possessors of Sam Terry's property were smugglers on an extensive but ruinous scale; for their contraband goods to the amount of thousands of pounds were on more than one occasion seized by the Custom House Officers. But, after a course of some ten years in reckless and dishonest speculations, in the practice of falsehood and fraud, of folly and roguery, Messrs. Hughes and Hoskins had, up to 1843, drawn at different times from the Bank of Australia £250,000—a quarter of a million sterling; and then, to prevent the entire breaking up of their immense establishments, the failure of their house, and the bankruptcy of their persons, in whose failure many other

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merchants would have been involved, the following means were employed:—The Directors of the Bank of Australia applied to the Bank of Australasia for the loan of £300,000 on the security of the deeds of property belonging to Hughes and Hoskins, then in their possession; and on the personal security of every one of the Directors of the Bank of Australia; and on those terms the money was procured. That expedient delayed for a short time, but it did not prevent, the ultimate failure of Hughes and Hoskins; for, in 1845, that monster firm ceased to exist.

From the preceding details, therefore, it is evident that to dissipate the riches of the miser, the extortioner, and the oppressor, it is not necessary that he should be succeeded by a spendthrift, but that the work of squandering ill-gotten gains can be effectually performed by other agents: indeed the spirit of speculation is as potent for evil as the spirit of profligacy. These men were not ostentatious in their style of living, they were not addicted to gluttony or drunkenness, and they did not substitute the pursuits of pleasure for the engagements of business; and though enamoured of speculation, they possessed shrewdness, business habits, and application to business. Yet, unblessed of God, from being rich they became poor.

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CHAPTER X.

THE CROWN LANDS.

The Original Appropriation of them—The Sale of them by Public Competition—The Advanced Rate of Minimum Price injurious to Immigrants—It produced Reckless Speculation in Land, and Colonial Bankruptcy—Further Advance in the Minimum Price of Lands.

Now I purpose to give my readers some information in regard to the regulations for the purchase of Crown Lands in the Australian colonies; to point out the injustice and impolicy of the existing regulations; their injurious influence on immigrants, and to the prosperity of the Australian colonies. Between 1820 and 1830, under the governments of Generals Macquarie and Darling, the colonial authorities induced the British Government to grant a section of land, consisting of 640 acres, to every child of the servants of the Colonial Government, and to each of the children of the originally free and respectable settlers. And these officials, having procured the appropriation of much of the best land in the eligible localities of the territory of New South Wales for their sons and

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daughters, and for the children of their relatives and friends, induced the home authorities to frame and enforce new regulations for the disposal of Crown Lands. This selfish influence was exerted, not to promote the prosperity of the colony by holding out inducements to emigrants of capital and character to embark with their families to Sydney, but to impart a fictitious value to the farms which they and their children possessed: for, up to this period, the virgin lands were comparatively of little value, because the alluvial soil on the banks of the rivers required an average expense of £2 per acre to fit it for the reception of seed; and the forest land, at least much of it, was unsuited for cultivation; and therefore for pastoral purposes not worth 2s. 6d. an acre. But the cupidity of the colonial authorities and settlers prompted them, by misrepresentations to the British Government, to solicit the enforcement of a regulation that Crown Lands should be surveyed, divided into sections, and into smaller quantities; be marked on charts at the land office; and then, on the selection of intending purchasers, put up to auction at the minimum price of 5s. per acre. The operations of this regulation were, between 1836 and 1840, in numerous instances ruinous to the rich and avaricious government servants and settlers, as also to the poor immigrants; for, in the bosoms

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of the first class, the vain desire to be the lords of the soil, and to rival the aristocracy of England in the number of the acres and the value of their estates, extinguished in their hearts every sentiment of generosity, or even of justice. As for many years the Crown Lands contiguous to their estates had been freely used by them for the depasturing of their flocks and the grazing of their herds, the knowledge that a poor immigrant had presumed to put up for sale by auction a section of land in the locality of their estates, wounded their pride and intensified their selfishness. Hence, in order to prevent the intrusion of a stranger who should hold as proprietor land they had held as squatters, they became competitors with the poor immigrant; and having the longer purse and the deepest interest in the sale, they in numerous cases out-bid the intruding settler; and through his inability to obtain a farm and a home, forced him to continue in Sydney at a great expense, sometimes until his capital was spent, and he died, through disappointment, broken-hearted. But a retributive Providence chastised these government officials and wealthy settlers. During the high prices of wool and every description of colonial stock, impelled by the ungovernable lust of adding house to house, and land to land, they, blinded by the spirit of speculation, increased the

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number of their estates and the expense of their establishments, until their funds became exhausted; and then, when a season of depression arrived, their farms first were mortgaged, next sold, and to prop up their falling credit they perpetrated infamous frauds. To escape the legal consequences of their crimes, and the shame of punishment, some of them committed suicide. "Trust thou not," my reader, "in riches, and become not vain in robbery; if riches increase, set not your heart on them." "And be not afraid when one is made rich, when the glory of his house is increased; for when he dieth he shall carry nothing away: his glory shall not descend after him. Though while he lived he blessed his soul; and men will praise thee when thou doest well to thyself. He shall go to the generation of his fathers; they shall never see light. Man that is in honour, and understandeth not, is like the beasts that perish." "But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God: for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth."

Five shillings, however, as the minimum price of crown lands did not satisfy the home authorities; for, whether influenced by their own erroneous judgments and sordid dispositions, or prompted by colonial influence, the Secretary of State for the Colonies sent instructions to

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the Governor of New South Wales about the year 1840, not to sell any more of the Crown Lands under £1 per acre. This absurd and impolitic regulation has almost stopped the sale of government land; and since it came into force, the newly arrived and most respectable settlers have become squatters on a large and magnificent scale. During the government of the late Sir George Gipps they were urged, by the tyranny of the home government, to the point of rebellion. Yes, gentlemen of military reputation and untarnished honour, of ardent patriotism and undoubted loyalty, were prepared in defence of their homesteads, of their flocks and herds, and especially to protect the interests of their wives and children, to hazard their lives in open rebellion; and, in his attempt to carry into effect the unjust and impolitic orders of the colonial office, an able governor and a meritorious officer sacrificed his life; for Sir George Gipps died through anxiety during his contest with the gentlemen squatters. Now, however, from New England to Moreton Bay, a distance of 400 miles, there are comfortable homesteads, sheep and cattle stations, and districts assigned to each squatter, in proportion to the number of his live-stock, on a fourteen years' lease, and the annual payment of head-money for his sheep, cattle, and horses.

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CHAPTER XI.

RESIDENCE AT BALMAIN.

Connection with the Rev. Dr. Lang—His Illustrious Character—His Eminent Services.

From March, 1841, to May, 1843, I resided chiefly in Sydney, and a suburb of it called Balmain separated from the city by Darling Harbour. The first six months were spent in Sydney in retirement; but at the expiration of that time I formed an acquaintance with that extraordinary man—Dr. Lang. The doctor appreciated the pecuniary sacrifices I had made, and sympathised with me in the difficulties into which my independent and disinterested course had involved me; and when he left the Endowed Church of Scotland, I devoted three months of gratuitous service in an attempt to establish a Free Church in two localities at Balmain. In 1842, in connection with Dr. Lang, I superintended the erection of a church; formed into a congregation most of the respectable inhabitants, including Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists. As, however, in that stage of the history of

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the colony, I could not conscientiously accompany the doctor in his crusade against government grants for the support of ministers, our connexion terminated after a year's continuance.

As Dr. Lang will occupy a prominent position in the early history of the Australian Colonies, and more especially in that of New South Wales; as his character has been much maligned by enemies and false friends; and as he has suffered from government prosecutions, I will endeavour, with impartiality, but in a friendly and sympathising spirit, to sketch the doctor's character, and to describe his eminent services in regard to civilisation and colonisation, to the arts and sciences, to education and religion. The doctor must now be about seventy-one years old, and consequently he was born in or about the year 1797; and some forty years have elapsed since, as a graduate of one of the Scotch universities, he arrived on the shores of New Holland. Possessed of a strong body and vigorous mind, a sanguine temperament and an enterprising spirit, fixedness of purpose and a determined will, our young Scotchman relinquished the pursuits of agriculture and of worldly gain, and formed the noble purpose of making Australia participate in the civilisation and religion of his native country; and during a whole generation his purpose

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has been successfully executed. He has also, in the prosecution of his patriotic and philanthropic plans, enriched the Australian colonies with the soberest and most intelligent mechanics; with many educated schoolmasters; and with no small number of devoted ministers. To attain these important objects he has made the voyage between Great Britain and Australia some *seven* times, sacrificed the enjoyments of the domestic and social circles, neglected his pecuniary interests, procured the enmity of disappointed and worthless immigrants, and has more than once been the victim of government prosecutions. Dr. Lang, however, is one of the greatest benefactors the Australian Colonies have possessed, and his own country owes him a debt of gratitude which it is unable and, alas, indisposed to pay. But, like another moral hero, he has made a wise selection; for he has acted in the spirit of Moses, and has been influenced by the same divine principle. "By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharoah's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompense of the reward." But when the memory of the men who have built their houses by corruption and

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extortion are forgotten, and their names mentioned only with mingled feelings of contempt and abhorrence, the patriot and philanthropist, the legislator and divine, John Dunmore Lang, will have statues erected to his memory, and colleges bearing his honoured name. This justice, however, he will surely receive from posterity that will esteem it to be an honour to celebrate and perpetuate his worthy deeds. The treatment which the doctor has received from his contemporaries—many of whom, as the objects of his benevolence, owe their position in society to his influence—is the common lot of all reformers, whether social or political, literary or religious; for every reformer who presumes to think and act for himself, who disdains to be the slave of any party, and resolutely follows the dictates of his own judgment and conscience, will be the victim of all partisans; and this painful experience is the result of a quarter of a century's extensive observation. My panegyric on the character of Dr. Lang is dictated by a sense of justice; and I rejoice to be in the possession of the moral courage to defend the reputation of a man who, through a combination of adverse circumstances, had for a time, after a public life of thirty years, sunk into comparative obscurity. For, on principle and sympathy I always espouse the cause of the weak against the strong;

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of the oppressed against the oppressor; of the victim of tyranny against the tyrant; and in my defence of these principles I have sacrificed the riches, the honours, and the pleasures of the world. I am, however, sustained by a faith that inspires me with the hope of seeing God, of awaking with His likeness, wearing a crown of glory, and of participating in the possession of a kingdom. In the year 1861, the doctor's enterprising spirit, and his devotion to the interests of his adopted country, constrained him, far advanced towards seventy to make a journey through the new and important colony of Queensland. And in a volume of considerable value, both for the information it contains in regard to the resources of this Colony which borders on the tropic of Capricorn, and for its literary merit, the philanthropic doctor has conferred on the reading public an additional favour. This volume I earnestly recommend to the perusal of intending emigrants, and also to the reading public.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

In regard to Climate—The City of Sydney—The Harbour of Port Jackson—The Heads—The Bays—The General Character of the Scenery—The Character of Sir Richard Bourke—The Effects of his Administration—The Extension of Religious Establishments—The Voluntary System.

Before I take my leave of Sydney and return to Calcutta, I will give my readers my impressions in regard to the climate of Australia, and of the scenery in the vicinity of Sydney. I will also draw for them a sketch of the characters of Governors Bourke and Gipps; and of Dr. Broughton, the first bishop of Australia.

Between Hobart Town and Moreton Bay, I passed over some sixteen degrees of latitude, from about 45° to 29° south latitude. In Tasmania as well as New South Wales, at Norfolk Island and Moreton Bay, the atmosphere is delightfully clear and pure; and the temperature, though high, is only for short periods oppressive. On several occasions I have known the thermometer to range higher than in Calcutta, but I never felt the distressing symptoms

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arising from the humidity and unwholesomeness of the air which characterise the climate of Calcutta from the middle of June to the end of October. Indeed, the predominance of red sandstone, the absence of extensive deltas, the prevalence of mountain ridges, and the high table lands, secure to the Australian Colonies, if not a highly fertile soil, a healthy climate, and an agreeable temperature.

The City of Sydney stands at the head of the Cove, and on the shores of Darling Harbour. It forms a parallelogram, having some dozen streets at parallels, and as many at right angles. The original buildings were bark huts and weather-boarded cottages; but most of those have disappeared, and given place to handsome cottages with verandahs, and to substantial stone and brick houses in the English style. Before I left Sydney, in 1843, the city was embellished by several fine structures, consisting of banking and mercantile establishments; four churches in connection with the Church of England, and a handsome cathedral in the course of erection; a cathedral and another church in communion with the Church of Rome; three churches which were in connection with the Presbyterian Church; two Wesleyan chapels, one Independent, and one Baptist. In regard to educational establishments, there was

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Sydney College in a very flourishing condition. This was not a sectarian or denominational establishment. The two colleges established by the Church of England and by the Church of Scotland, the one under the patronage of Bishop Broughton, the other established and patronised by Doctor Lang, entirely failed, and had become extinct. The new government house, which was finished and occupied by Sir George Gipps in 1841, is a noble and magnificent structure. In the vicinity of it are the government gardens, open to the public; and the royal domain, around which is an extensive drive, as well as a ride for equestrians and charioteers. Around the head of the Cove is constructed a circular wharf, within the basin of which can be moored some two hundred vessels from five hundred to a thousand tons' burden; and these can discharge or take in their cargoes within a plank's length of the wharf. In the centre of the wharf stands the Custom House establishment, and along it are the Commissariat stores and private warehouses. Along the interior ridge of the southern head are the mansions of the civil and military officers; and at the head of Elizabeth Bay there are exhibited to the view of admiring beholders the splendid and costly mansion, and the extensive and beautiful grounds of the late Colonial Secretary, Alexander M'Clay, Esq., a gentleman distinguished for the length

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of his official services and great age, for his Conservative political principles, and for his enlightened personal piety. Rising above the bays, and standing on the points, are several beautiful villas and magnificent mansions, the residences of the Sydney aristocracy; while on the north shore of Port Jackson, and extending for several miles from Laing Cove to the North Head, there are the villas and mansions of the Sydney merchants. Many of these gentlemen are conveyed to and from their country residences in their own boats. From the entrance of Sydney Heads up to Circular Wharf, a distance of about six miles, the mansions and villas at the heads of the bays, and stretching along the Sydney Heads, present to the beholder a scene with which, for beauty, grandeur, and sublimity, few can compare. Under the sheltering influence of the cliffs in the background of the bays, and exposed to the heat of the meridian sun, flourish the melon and vine, the plantain and fig, the peach and pumpkin; and the fruits which grow in these favourable localities attain a perfection in size, beauty, and flavour, superior to any in these respects that are grown in English hot-houses. The beauty of the scene, which nature and art combine to embellish, is greatly increased by flocks of birds, clothed with plumage which tastefully displays every variety of colour; and those, which claim

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their share of the fruit, are a variety of the parrot species, small in size, but adorned with beautiful plumage.

From a description of the vegetable and and animal productions in the vicinity of Sydney which attracted my attention, I will now describe the intellectual and moral qualifications of some of the rulers of New South Wales. The first that I will attempt to sketch is Sir Richard Bourke, the first governor appointed under the Whig administration of 1830. Sir Richard was a native of Ireland; he had served with honour in the Peninsular war, had been wounded in the mouth, and attained, on his appointment to the Government of New South Wales, the rank of Major-General. In his new and civil capacity he occupied a difficult position; and therefore the opposition to his government will palliate, if not justify, some apparently arbitrary acts of his administration. His instructions from the colonial office were, to annihilate the system of corruption which pervaded every department of the colonial government; to legislate in a spirit of freedom and equality; and to retrench the general expenditure of the government. But, in the execution of these commands of his superiors, he was opposed by corrupt officials, by Tory politicians and high churchmen, and by government servants who had prospered by squandering the colonial and imperial resources;

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and, therefore, when obstructed in his course of justice and benevolence, of reform and retrenchment, by the united power of the civil service, of the clergy, and of the wealthy magistrates and settlers, he was constrained, in order to strengthen himself for the contest, to form an alliance with the Irish or O'Connell party, and to seek aid from what Major Moody designated "the Felonry of New South Wales." These were the wealthy emancipists, and men who had become free by servitude. Sir Richard, however, possessed the vigour, the firmness, and the integrity requisite to perform his arduous mission. He did put down corruption in the government departments, he did pass a church act, under the liberal and equitable provisions of which even the clergy of the Church of England in six years were more than doubled, and churches, either temporary or permanent, increased in an equal proportion. Indeed, under the liberal system of the Whigs, in six years the Church of England extended its legitimate influence more than it had done during the preceding forty years of the existence of the colony. The Church of Scotland grew also to an almost unnatural extent in proportion to the number of its members. The Wesleyan denomination, with their accustomed wisdom, availed themselves of the provisions of the New Church Act, and have within the

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last twenty years so much increased in numbers and wealth, in intelligence and moral power, that they are now independent of the British Conference, having, in their colonial capacity, all the parts of their ecclesiastical polity complete, and in active and prosperous operation. But the Independents and Baptists, blinded by the light or darkness of voluntaryism, and enslaved by their abject submission to that object of their idolatry, have in general refused all government assistance for the extension of their colonial influence. The natural consequence is, that they remained nearly stationary until within the last few years, when the Colonial Society, in connection with the Congregational Union in England, sent to the Australian Colonies some valuable agents and zealous missionaries; for though, in England, some spasmodic efforts have been made under the direction of the Colonial Missionary Society to extend the principles of the Congregational system in New South Wales, and by the funds of that society, and by the liberality of private munificence, several ministers have emigrated to New South Wales, yet, within the limits of that, the oldest of the Australian Colonies, there were, until recently, only a few ministers of the Congregational denomination occupying in the colony important and influential positions. Indeed, the voluntary system

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is unsuitable and inadequate in its power to meet the exigencies of a new colony; and therefore, if the colonies had been left by the supreme government to the operations of that system, both our American and Australian dependencies would now have been in a state of heathenish barbarism. These statements are made in opposition to my inclinations, but in obedience to my judgment and conscience, as the result of extensive observation and experience.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE BEST MEANS OF PROPAGATING CHRISTIANITY.

The Dishonesty of some Advocates of the Voluntary System—The Legitimate Influence of Voluntaryism—Religious Establisaments among the Ancients — The Original Progress of Christianity—The Corruption of Christianity—The Influenee of Public Opinion on Ecclesiastical Appointments—Ecclesiastical Reform—In regard to the Appropriation of the National Revenues.

The advocates of entire voluntaryism for the colonies remind me of the practice of infidel writers, who, with the Bible in their hands, and the light of revelation shining around them, assert that the volume and light of nature, and the exercise of human reason, form an adequate direction for the guidance of men through the labyrinths of this world to the abodes of eternal blessedness; for Messrs. Miall and Baines indirectly use the resources of the establishment in England, and the Government grants in the colonies, to disseminate their extreme opinions in regard to religion and education; and having entered the folds of ecclesiastical establishments, they endeavour to entice the silly sheep which are tended by what they term hireling shepherds, and are feeding on state pasturage, from

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their watchful or sleeping shepherds and rich pasture into the power of hungry shepherds, if not in some instances of rapacious wolves, who assume the name and garb of shepherds; and, under their influence instead of being nourished with "the sincere milk of the word," are too often fed, or rather starved, on the bones of controversy. When by these and similar means, these extreme voluntaries collect congregations and build chapels, they unblushingly boast of the efficiency of the voluntary system. But this is an abuse of a good system; for in all ages of the world religion has been greatly indebted to the voluntary efforts of ministers and of private christians. However, the late visit paid to the Australian Colonies by the Rev. Thomas Binney, that original and clear thinker, that eminent preacher and successful pastor, has exerted a reviving, powerful, and extensive influence on behalf of congregational nonconformity in those interesting and growing colonies. His missionary tour through those dependencies of the British empire, as it has resembled, so it has been regarded by him, an episcopal tour. Indeed, this distinguished Nonconformist divine, calls himself a High Churchman; for such he designated himself to the writer of this narrative. Therefore, the great success of his missionary and episcopal visit to the Australian Colonies

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may, perhaps, induce the Congregational Union to modify and expand their system of church government, by the appointment of travelling and missionary bishops. Indeed, the leading Congregational ministers in England already possess in substance the power, though not the name, of bishops. But, alas! in many small and poor churches, the lord Deacons, who love to have the pre-eminence, lord it over God's heritage, which comprises both pastor and people; and, therefore, when some fifty years ago a Congregational minister was introduced to the Rev. William Romaine as an Independent minister, he naively replied, "You mean a dependent minister on an Independent congregation;" for in small and poor churches of this ecclesiastical order, the position of the minister is far from being a position to excite the envy of a brother of another denomination; especially where a considerable part of his annual income is dependent on the caprice of a few members of his church, or perhaps of his congregation; and who may be characterised by vulgarity of mind, coarseness of manners, and pride, arising simply from the possession of wealth. Therefore, were I obliged, in order to procure the means of subsistence, to make my election between subserviency to an Episcopal bishop or a Congregational deacon, I should choose the former; for the voluntary efforts of private

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persons and of religious societies are auxiliary, not the principal, agency to maintain and extend the principles and institutions of Christianity.

And in support of these assertions I might refer my intelligent and learned readers to the national ecclesiastical establishments among the ancient Egyptians, and among the Jews; among the Greek and the Romans; and, in modern times, among the Persians, the Hindoos, and the Chinese. Hence, it is perceived, that an ecclesiastical establishment, supported partly by compulsory payments, and partly by voluntary offerings, formed an integral part of the Mosaic system. And as these principles have pervaded the religious systems of the Egyptians and Assyrians; of the Chaldeans and Persians; of the Greeks and Romans, in ancient times; and, among the moderns, of the followers of Mohammed and of Confucius; of Buddha and Brahma; to me the inference is irresistible, that these heathen nations and the founders of false religions derived their mixed system of supporting religious institutions from ancient and divine traditions.

However, I am willing to admit that within three centuries after the death of the founder of Christianity, not simply *unassisted* by state support, but in *opposition* to the combined influence of the civil and ecclesiastical power, both

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of the Jewish Sanhedrim and of the Roman Empire, the principles of our holy religion were disseminated throughout the empire; and that in every European and Asiatic city Christian churches were formed, over which several elders presided; and one of their number, nominated by themselves and elected by the popular voice, had the presidency over their brethren. During that primitive and glorious period personal freedom, social comfort, intellectual elevation, and spiritual refinement, greatly and beneficially influenced all ranks of the communities in the Roman Empire. There existed, to a wide extent, liberty, fraternity and charity. Indeed, Christianity triumphed over Polytheism. The sacred victims remained unpurchased, idolatry was starved, and the idol temples were closed; and Constantine, influenced partly from principle and partly by expediency, proclaimed universal toleration. Moreover, his successor established Christianity, and took it under the protection and patronage of the empire.

And here I am ready to acknowledge that from that time the spiritual glory of the religion of Christ has been greatly obscured, though it has never departed; for the alliance was not in conformity with the nature of things. If the state had, by strict and impartial justice, thrown the shield of its protection over the liberty of its subjects and the

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rights of conscience; if, by the enactment of wise laws, it had discountenanced vice and encouraged virtue; if the emperor, the members of his court, and the great officers of the empire had, from conviction of its truth, embraced Christianity, and exhibited its benign and divine principles in their life and conversation, the influence of their principles and practice throughout all classes of the community would have been highly beneficial to the interests of Christianity, and also to the stability of the empire. But, alas! the colossal power of ancient Rome was in a state of rapid decline, and tottered to its fall. Corruption pervaded every department of the empire, and polluted every class of the community; and therefore this unnatural alliance between the church and the empire afforded facilities for men, prompted by worldly ambition and the love of filthy lucre, to aspire to the highest offices in the church; and to gratify their ambitious and sordid desires, offices were created by human and demoniacal power unknown in apostolic times, and unsanctioned by divine authority. Hence came into existence Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Patriarchs.

In that and every succeeding age some of these offices in the church have been filled by men notorious for lust and covetousness, for sceptical principles, and ambitious dispositions. Indeed, so injurious and potent has been the

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influence of the state over the church, that in not a few instances has it been observed in our own beloved and scriptural church, until the commencement of the last ten years, the crown livings and the bishoprics have in general been given, not to reward merit, but to strengthen existing governments, and to provide for the dependents of government supporters. Lord John, now Earl Russell, to his honour, was the first Prime Minister who appointed to the Primacy of all England a political opponent, and elevated to a bishopric a clergyman personally unknown to him, as he did, in the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the See of Hereford. His example has been imitated by the Earl of Aberdeen, in the appointment of Dr. Jackson to the See of Lincoln, and by Lord Palmerston, in his recent selection of four bishops. But the Church of England is indebted for these admirable appointments, not exclusively or principally to the personal tastes of Lord Palmerston, but to the influence of public sentiment which would not tolerate the appointment to bishoprics of the Tomlines and Hawleys of the third and fourth Georges, and of the Blomfields and Philpotts. We want as heads of the church, not simply the tutors of premiers, the translators of Greek Tragedies, and the writers of political pamphlets; but men of high moral and religious principles. Our exigencies are of a higher

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order; for the church and the nation require such men as Ridley and Latimer; and in the present Bishops of London and Lincoln, of Gloucester and Carlisle, of Durham and Ripon, we have prelates influenced by their principles, and possessed of their spirit. And for the formation of the present enlightened and scriptural public opinion in regard to ecclesiastical and scriptural subjects, we are much indebted to the exertions of our Nonconformist brethren.

Indeed, to the Congregationalists of England, both Independents and Baptists, and to the Presbyterians of Great Britain and Ireland, we owe many of our civil and religious liberties, much of our Biblical literature and sound theology. During the last generation many pulpits of parish churches in our rural districts were illumined by the pages of "Burder's Village Sermons;" and during the present age not a few clergymen in our provincial towns and cities, and in the metropolis of the empire, have enlightened the understandings and warmed the hearts of their congregations by the reading from their pulpits the sermons of Jay and James, of Drs. Style and Raffles, of Sherman and Parsons; and even where this wholesale but unacknowledged importation has not been made, the discourses of many of our priests, who affect to regard with contempt the pretensions of Nonconformist ministers to the

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title of authorised teachers of Christianity, have been chiefly composed of extracts from the writings of Nonconformist divines of eminence. The preceding remarks I have been constrained to make as a counterpoise for the strictures on the extreme voluntaryism of Edward Miall and his admirers, who, in their hatred of ecclesiastical establishments, desire to commit sacrilege, by robbing the nation of the endowments made by our ancestors to promote the social and intellectual, the moral and spiritual, interests of the people. Because the national and ecclesiastical revenues have been in many cases misappropriated and plundered, to assign these as reasons sufficient to justify Parliament to alienate them from their legitimate uses, and to appropriate them in aid of liquidating the national debt, is unworthy the reputation of a statesman, or simply of a politician, a Christian, or an honest man. On the same principle, Parliament might confiscate the estates of many of the nobility and of private gentlemen, and might plunder no small number of prosperous tradesmen and skilful mechanics of the fruits of their industry; for of the first two classes, how many squander away their incomes by gambling and dissipation; and numbers of the latter two classes spend the profits of their business, and the results of their industry and skill, in excesses similar in kind, but inferior in degree. But

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what social or political monomaniac dares presume to introduce into the House of Commons such an absurd proposition? Yet such a proposition is equally rational and just with the alienating, confiscating, and sacrilegious schemes of the ex-member for Rochdale.

I freely admit, as I have admitted in a lecture, on two occasions, delivered by me in 1855, "On the Legitimate Appropriation of the National Ecclesiastical Revenues," that these revenues are national property, to be appropriated to national but specific purposes; and therefore they ought, in justice to the original intention of the donors, and to the advantage of the nation in general, to be judiciously used for the benefit of the whole, not for a part of the community. The specific purposes of their appropriation are to promote the social and intellectual, the moral and spiritual interests of the people of Great Britian and Ireland. When these endowments were granted, the inhabitants of England, Ireland, and of Scotland believed in the christian religion under one particular form of the faith. Since that time, however, great changes have been effected in the theological and ecclesiastical views of the people. In England the reformed religion became general before the close of the sixteenth century; and it assumed, by Act of Parliament, the Episcopalian form. By the end

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of the first half of the seventeenth century, Episcopacy was, by the supreme power in the state, abolished; and every form of ecclesiastical polity was tolerated that did not endanger the safety of civil government. During the next fifty years, under the restoration of the Stuarts, Episcopacy regained the ascendancy, and, for about thirty years, persecuted, by fines and imprisonment, every form of dissent from the established religion. From the revolution of 1688 to the present time persecuting Acts have been repealed, and measures of toleration passed; and, under their benign influence, civil and religious freedom has advanced, scriptural and spiritual Christianity has enlightened the public mind and purified the national heart, and periodical revivals of religion have been the means of quickening millions "dead in trespasses and sins," of enlightening their minds, of purifying their hearts, and of refining their tastes. By the labours of Wesley and Whitfield, and of thousands of men prompted by their motives and influenced by their spirit, many Christian churches have been formed, and new ecclesiastical organisations have been permanently established. The general result of the exertions of these apostolic men is this, that now the *bonâ fide* members of the Church of England, in England and Wales, do not comprise a moiety of the entire population, nor a fourth of

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the intelligence and piety of the nation. Under, therefore, these altered circumstances, it is an act of injustice to continue the appropriation of the national ecclesiastical revenues to one class only of the community; and among which are included the most wealthy and influential members. Hence, I demand, on the principles of justice and of equality, for all the denominations of my Nonconformist brethren, their share of the national and ecclesiastical revenues in proportion to their relative numbers, and those who cannot conscientiously accept it for the support of the Christian ministry among them, let them take their share to promote in their respective spheres of labour personal independence and social comfort, intellectual culture and moral refinement. To obtain these important and beneficial objects, a portion of my time and influence shall be henceforth employed, on the one hand of the clamour of extreme innovators, and on the other of bigoted and rapacious Conservatives, influenced by a deep conviction of the justice and expediency of my scheme of ecclesiastical reform. However, if moderate men of all parties do not approve of my plan, I shall at least be sustained by the approbation of my own conscience.

In regard to Ireland, the circumstances in connection with ecclesiastical affairs materially differ. In that interesting

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country the principles of the reformed religion have not yet been embraced by the people in general. Indeed, thirty years ago, the late Daniel O'Connell could boastingly and defiantly say, "There are seven millions of us;" that is, seven-eights of the entire population. But, during the last generation, through the ravages of famine, of emigration, and the operation of other causes, the population of the Emerald Isle has decreased nearly one-fourth: so that now, instead of 8,000,000, there are little more than 6,000,000 of people. In that country during the latter period, through the influence of education, of a mild and just administration, of kindness and sympathy with the distressed, of the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and the preaching of the gospel, a great change has been effected in the relative numbers of Protestants and Romanists. Instead of seven-eighths of the entire population professing the faith of the latter, the present number of Romanists does not exceed *four-fifths*, or 4,800,000, which leaves as the professors of the reformed faith 1,200,000. Under these altered circumstances, and in the present state of the religious transition, a measure of ecclesiastical reform, suitable for the Irish people, must differ materially in its provisions from the plan of reform adapted to meet the exigencies of the people of England. However, on the

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principles of equality and justice, the professors of the Romish faith in Ireland are entitled to their share of the ecclesiastical revenues, in order to promote their personal and social, their intellectual and moral interests. Therefore, to effect this act of justice, no fears of Christian philanthropists and of zealous Protestants, and no pretences of bigots and persecutors should be permitted to interpose. Ireland, however, having become the battle ground between the Conservative and the Liberal parties a sense of justice and of political and moral expediency, constrained me, at the commencement of the public agitation, to address the following letter to the editor of the *Birmingham Daily Post*, on the important subject of the Irish Church :—

2, Sidbury Place, Worcester.

Sir,—Having read with attention and much interest the petition to be presented to the House of Commons in favour of the Irish Church Establishment, signed by the thirty-nine rectors, vicars, incumbents, and curates, in the rural deanery of Birmingham, I beg to inform these thirty-nine of my clerical brethren that from an extensive acquaintance with the character and influence of that ecclesiastical establishment, and of the beneficial effects, socially, politically, morally, and spiritually, which have resulted from the disendowment of the exclusive Anglican Church Establishments in the Australian and in the Canadian colonies, extending through a period of thirty years, I am prepared, in the interests of Evangelical Protestantism, of spiritual Christianity, and of the Reformed Church of England, to defend Mr. Gladstone's propositions for the

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disendowment of the Irish Church Establishment by public discussion in the Town Hall, single-handed, with the four rectors whose names are appended to the petition, even though their declamation should be cheered from the platform by the other thirty-five vicars, incumbents, and curates, whose signatures swell the number. Indeed, of what real value are these thirty-nine names? For I do not hesitate to assert that they comprise a much less number of independent minds than the nine units. Indeed, sir, in regard to Ireland and the spread of Evangelical Protestantism, the Church Establishment has been a social, a political, and a religious curse, rather than a blessing; for through its influence the Romish priesthood have had in it an almost omnipotent instrumen to retain in subjection, and to keep in a state of alienation, the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, to misrepresent the Protestant clergy, and to defame the real character of Evangelical Protestantism. In regard to the operation of disendowments of ecclesiastical establishments of an exclusive character in Australia and in Canada, I will now mention the following facts which have come under my own personal observation.

In the territory of New South Wales, during the first forty years of its existence as a British colony, not more than twelve beneficed clergymen, with the designation of chaplains and assistant chaplains, held their benefices at one time. However, in 1837, during the term of office of the first Whig Governor Sir Richard Bourke, a new and liberal Church Act came into operation, which placed all the Christian denominations in the colony on an equality in regard to state patronage; and its influence in calling out into practical operation the members of the Church of England, both clerical and laic, was of such a nature and so beneficial, that within ten years after the Act came into operation the working clergy, the churches and parsonages, the schoolmasters, schools, school-houses, and scholars increased in number and in efficiency four hundred per cent. Of this rapid progress I was an eye-witness and an actual promoter. However, in 1836, the same arguments were employed against the passing of the bill that now are used by the bigoted opponents of ecclesiastical progress.

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Until within the last twenty years the Church reserves in Western or Upper Canada comprised one-seventh of the land in the colony, and under the fostering influence of the state, Episcopal Protestantism remained, to a great degree, stationary. However, within the latter period of time, by the authority of the Imperial Parliament, these extensive reserves have been resumed by the state. And what has been the effect of this resumption of public grants of lands to a favoured Church Establishment? I will answer this important question in the words of a Canadian senator. In 1860, I attended a public meeting in the Egyptian Hall of the Mansion House, London, to take leave of the first Bishop of British Columbia. At that meeting then—and the principal speakers were the Bishop of London and of Oxford—a zealous churchman, a member of the Legislative Assembly of Western Canada, in reference to this subject, stated before that highly influential and respectable audience, in my hearing, that the public withdrawal of the Church reserves had been the means of rousing the general laity and of calling forth the energies of both clergy and laity to such an extent that the Church had since the resumption of the lands greatly prospered in numbers and in wealth.

In 1861 I travelled through the Canadas, and was a personal observer of the operation of these beneficial results from a liberal and an equitable system of ecclesiastical affairs. Therefore, with these facts, I will leave your impartial readers and the public in general, to judge of the value of the petitioners' case.

I am, sir, yours faithfully,

THOMAS ATKINS,

A Clergyman of the Evangelical Broad Church School.

The case of Scotland is *sui generis*. There, the large mass of the population are almost equally divided between the *Established* Presbyterian, and the Free Presbyterian Churches. Both parties claim a right to the ecclesiastical

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endowments; only one of them, however, acknowledges the supremacy of the crown in ecclesiastical affairs. Hence, to that party the state extends its patronage. Indeed, in civil, ecclesiastical, and religious affairs, privilege and obligation are inseparable. Those who receive grants from the state must necessarily acknowledge their obligations; they must be under government control, and be responsible to the government for the appropriation of state funds, and for the efficient discharge of the duties for the performance of which these funds are given. The pretensions of the Free Church party are preposterous; their assumption of perfect independence is arrogant; and their deprivation of state support, with their present principles and practices, is just. The Nonconformists, who repudiate in their ecclesiastical affairs all state control, who do not solicit the patronage of the crown, and require only government protection, act at least consistently; but for an ecclesiastical and religious party, large in number, and great in influence, to claim the protection and patronage of the state, and then to assert an independence of government control, is contrary to the first principles of civil government, and subversive of all legitimate authority. Indeed, in the pretensions of the Free Church party there undoubtedly exist the germs of Papal independence and supremacy; and

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therefore they ought to be resisted by the civil power.

The new principle of ecclesiastical establishments, introduced into the Colony of New South Wales in 1837, by the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, and which has in some measure influenced ecclesiastical establishments in every part of the British Empire, affords a justification of the preceding observations on such establishments, and on the revenues that belong to them.

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CHAPTER XIV.

COLONIAL CELEBRITIES.

Sir George Gipps—Bishop Broughton—The Peculiar Features of Sir George's Government—The First Bishop of Australia—Author's Connection with that Prelate—His Love of Liberty—His Pecuniary Sacrifices—His Desire to be a Missionary in India—Unworthy Missionaries.

THE government of Sir George Gipps possessed its own peculiar characteristics. Under his able administration great changes were made in regard to the appropriation of land. As the immigrants and settlers would not, on an extensive scale, purchase crown lands, but would occupy them as squatters, the government found it to be expedient to grant them leases of fourteen years; and under that system of leases the colony has prospered greatly. In Victoria, within twenty years from the formation of the settlement of Port Phillip, the number of sheep has increased to an amount equal to that of the number of the flocks in the territory of New South Wales. It was also during the administration of Sir George Gipps, that transportation to New South Wales terminated, and with it the evils of the assignment system. This change in the government of the

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colony was effected by that enlightened, liberal, and consistent statesman, Lord John Russell. When he was at the head of the colonial department, in 1841, his state papers to the colonial governors exhibited views of government enlightened and humane, just and liberal, comprehensive, great and profound. Therefore, guided by the wisdom of those counsels, the governor of Norfolk Island emancipated many wretched prisoners confined there; the infliction of corporal punishment he discountenanced, and meliorated the condition of the prisoners of the crown in general. By these wise, humane, and just measures the convicts were gradually prepared for the acquisition of freedom; so that now, after the lapse of twenty-eight years, the traces of penal servitude are scarcely perceptible. The invidious distinctions between free *immigrants* and of the *felonry*, between pure *merinos* and the *currency*, between gentlemen settlers and emancipists, are happily lost; and the territory of New South Wales is inhabited by a free race of Anglo-Saxons, possessed of a Constitution of colonial and of municipal government; and under its auspices the people are rapidly progressing in material wealth, in intellectual culture, in moral power, and in spiritual liberty.

In attempting to review the progress of ecclesiastical establishments in New South Wales, the extension of

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general and religious education among the people, and the influence of religious principles upon them, the name of Dr. Broughton, the first Bishop of Australia, rises before my vision; and as his ecclesiastical and theological views considerably influenced the character of the clergy under his supervision, and not less of the lay members of the community, a sketch of the character of that prelate may not be out of place or unacceptable to my readers. Dr. Broughton was originally a member of the lower branch of the legal profession. Having taken orders in the Established Church, he became rector of a parish in Suffolk, where he had charge of the education of the young sons of the late Duke of Wellington, now the present Duke, and of the late Lord Charles Wellesley. About 1829, through the influence of his noble patron, the great Duke, then Premier, he was appointed Archdeacon of New South Wales, or rather of Australia; for the highest ecclesiastic in the Church of England at that time in Tasmania was a *Rural Dean.* During the six years of his archdeaconry his behaviour to the clergy was courteous and unassuming, and to his Nonconformist brethren condescending and affable. In 1835 Dr. Broughton obtained from the colonial authorities leave of absence to visit England, in order to advocate in person before the supreme

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government the cause of the Church of England in the Australian Colonies. This special advocacy appeared to him necessary, because the court of Rome had recently formed Sydney into a Bishopric, and appointed to that see Dr. Poulding. From the representations of Dr. Broughton to the British Government, and especially to Lord Glenelg, at that time the Chief Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Australian Colonies, which had been up to 1835 an Archdeaconry in the Diocese of Calcutta from which it was separated 6000 miles by the Pacific and Indian Oceans, was constituted the see of Australia; and the Venerable Archdeacon Broughton, who for about seven years had filled with credit the subordinate office of achdeacon, and whose zeal, if not ambition, had prompted him to employ his legal knowledge and skill, as well as his ecclesiastical learning, to induce the British Government to form the Diocese of Australia, was rewarded for his advocacy, being appointed first Bishop of Australia. Having passed through the usual forms preparatory to consecration; and that imposing ceremony having been performed by a late Archbishop of Canterbury, in whose province all the colonial bishoprics are by a fiction of the law supposed to exist, Dr. Broughton, in the early part of 1836, embarked for Sydney, invested with prelatical

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authority, and crowned with Episcopal honours. In October of that year I presented to his lordship a letter of introduction from Sir G. Grey, then Under-Secretary for the Colonial Department. But the letter which contained my appointment, "To perform the duties of Chaplain at the penal settlement of Norfolk Island," was addressed to the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke. In my official capacity I was entirely free from the ecclesiastical authority of Bishop Broughton, having received my appointment on the understanding that, in principle, I approved of the Congregational form of Church Government, and entertained the theological views of Evangelical Nonconformists. Hence, I received the appointment from Lord Glenelg, with the assurance that, in the performance of my official duties, no interference would be made with my conscientious views in regard to doctrine or discipline; but between 1834 and 1836, circumstances occurred in England, in regard to my personal experience, which modified my ecclesiastical views, and therefore, during the passage to Australia, on a review of my late experience, I thought I could, without any violation of the laws of conscience, accept on my arrival at Sydney Episcopal ordination; for the peculiar nature of my appointment, and the short time I remained in England after the situation had been given me, prevented any public

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recognition of me in accordance with the general practice of Congregational Nonconformists. Therefore, though between 1830 and 1834 I passed through the usual course of education at Highbury College, and from June 1834 to January 1836, had, under legitimate authority, supplied during some months several congregations; and though from more than one of them I received invitations to become their pastor, yet the unsatisfactory state of the churches, the restlessness of my natural disposition, and my desire to be engaged in missionary or colonial labours, prevented my acceptance of an invitation to settle over a congregation in England during that period. Having, therefore, under these circumstances received a government appointment, with an outfit of £150, and an annual stipend of £200; with rations, quarters, and other privileges worth another £100 a year; and as I was by virtue of my appointment actually the Bishop of Norfolk Island, no pecuniary considerations influenced my decision to offer myself for ordination to the Bishop of Australia. But, if in England I had witnessed and experienced some of the necessary and accidental evils of Congregational Nonconformity, I had to learn from observation in New South Wales some of the defects of the Church of England as

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now it exists, as the established religion, in England and Ireland, and as then it existed in Australia. During my residence, in 1837 and 1838, on the banks of the Hawkesbury, and while I performed the duties of Chaplain at the Lower Hawkesbury, correspondence with the bishop, and intercourse with the clergy, lessened my regard for the character of Dr. Broughton. They informed me of the extent of his despotic power, and of the abuse to which it was on too many occasions by his lordship applied; for his clergy, in complaining language, told me of the nature and extent of their official bondage; they deplored their degradation, and sighed in vain for freedom. *At that time,* rather than relinquish by a voluntary act my personal liberty, and swear allegiance to the Bishop of Australia, I virtually resigned an appointment worth £350 per annum, and at an expense of £100 embarked for Calcutta, with the intention on my arrival at the city of palaces, to offer my services to the Committee of the London Missionary Society.

The evening that I left the vessel at Calcutta, I expressed to the Rev. Thomas, now Dr. Boaz, my intention and wishes. The expectation, however, of an increase in the number of the Calcutta missionaries by fresh and speedy arrivals from England was the reason assigned by the corresponding secretary, the Rev. Mr. Lacroix, for the non-acceptance

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of my offer. However, during a friendly intercourse of twelve months with the agents of the London Society, I contributed from my private resources to the funds of the Mission about ten pounds; and during my first residence in Calcutta, I gave to the religious societies, including the London and the Baptist Missionary, and the Bible and Sailors' Home Societies, not less than twenty pounds. I spent ten pounds in acquiring the Bengalee language, and devoted a year to the learning of that language and to the gratuitous teaching of native youths the English Classics and the Christian Religion, through the medium of the English language, the Bible in general, and of the epistle to the Romans in particular.

But though the representatives of the London Missionary Society at Calcutta refused my offer of services, made at an expense of £100, and by travelling 6000 miles, yet they allowed two useless German doctors, who arrived at Calcutta, to encumber the Mission and consume its funds. One of them, having cost the Society above £200, was sent up to Benares to learn the English and Hindostanee languages. During a residence of twelve months in the holy city, having shewn his utter incompentency for the work of a missionary, he returned to Calcutta with a sick wife; and his domestic affliction was by the Calcutta com-

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mittee employed as a pretext to rid the Society of a useless but expensive encumbrance. By that German doctor of *Philosophy*, who arrived at Calcutta ignorant of even the English language, the funds of the Society sustained a loss of not less than £700. The other German, who was a doctor of medicine, remained in Calcutta to learn the English and the Bengalee languages; and during a residence there of two years, he indeed learned the languages, but exhibited complete inability for the Missionary work. During the two years that German adventurer received from the missionary funds at least £700; and when he was sufficiently conversant with the English and Bengalee languages, he procured a government appointment at Calcutta in the salt department at a salary of 300 rupees a month, or £360 per annum. This sum, with the amount of his outfit and passage money, must have made about one thousand pounds which that worthless German was allowed to receive from the funds of a society supported by voluntary donations and subscriptions. In these transactions there was a betrayal of a public and sacred trust, and a misappropriation of charitable funds disgraceful to the missionary cause, and destructive of christian character. Therefore, an imperative sense of duty has constrained me to expose these disreputable

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transactions; for is it to be expected that the blessing of Heaven will crown with success the efforts of general directors, of local committees, or of missionaries, who aid, or even tolerate, such acts of public and sacrilegious plunder? Surely not. On a calm review of these and other similar events which have happened under my own personal observation, I rejoice that, for my missionary labours among the heathen youth of Calcutta, and for my services in the pulpits of the London and Baptist Societies, I never received a farthing of remuneration; but on the other hand, contributed from my private resources about twenty pounds sterling. From experience I can say, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

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CHAPTER XV.

ON EMIGRATION.

The Advantages of an English Life—The Inconveniences of a Colonial Life—The Qualifications for a Successful Colonist—Favourable Localities for Colonists of Various Descriptions.

HERE I will take the liberty to offer a few remarks on the general subject of emigration, and especially on the advantages that the Australian Colonies present for British emigrants. From a residence of ten years in Australia and in India, and from a visit to South Africa, and these under circumstances favourable to personal comfort and extensive observation, I have arrived at the conclusion that, for an Englishman with purely national tastes, no country in the world is equal to his own native land; for in England more of the physical, intellectual, and spiritual advantages of life can be procured for money than in any other part of the world; and, therefore, the man of pleasure, or of literary pursuits, of public spirit, or of religious tastes, will not find in the colonies much to gratify his peculiar inclinations; but will be surrounded with objects disagreeable to his tastes, and calculated to produce in him disgust. In

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this state of things I would not recommend any person, the chief end of whose existence is to promote his own personal comfort, to leave the sensual, intellectual, and spiritual objects of personal gratification which abound in England, in order to encounter the vulgarity, the rusticity, and materiality of a colonial life. But, for the patriot, the philanthropist, the disinterested christian, and zealous missionary, the Australian Colonies afford a wide and favourable sphere for the exercise of his patriotic, philanthropic, and christian principles and tastes. To the sober, industrious, and persevering labourer and mechanic; to the capitalist, whose annual pecuniary means decrease, but whose family and expenditure increase, these colonies present facilities for the profitable investment of capital, for the employment of mechanical skill, and for the exertion of physical strength. Hence, men with large families but small pecuniary means, with mechanical skill and habits of sobriety and industry, and men accustomed to agricultural labour and the tending of stock, who are industrious, sober, and honest, must, under ordinary circumstances, improve their temporal condition by emigrating to Australia; for though they themselves may suffer some temporary privations, yet have they a rational prospect of obtaining, by a few years' persevering industry, farms and stock of their

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own; and by the use of the same means their children may occupy positions of comfort and of comparative independence; but persons who are destitute of energy, of habits of industry, and of self-control, had better remain a burden to the mother-country than, by emigrating, become an encumbrance and a curse to the Colonies. To the idle and vicious, a colonial life presents irresistible temptations; but insurmountable difficulties to the inactive and self-indulgent: so that the British Colonies require and reward persons of self-denial and energy of character, of honest intentions and fixedness of purpose, of persevering industry and sobriety of conduct, of moral habits and religious principles. To attain the highest advantages of a colonial life all these qualifications are requisite. To mechanics, tradesmen, and shopkeepers, Sydney and Melbourne, Hobart Town and Adelaide, present the greatest advantages. To farmers with small capitals, but large families, the Hawkesbury and Hunter Rivers, Port Stephens and the Clarence Rivers, the Macquarie and Brisbane, offer comfortable homes and rich virgin soil for cultivation. In these localities farms of from twenty to a hundred acres can be procured at £1 and upwards an acre. Also, to capitalists having from one to ten thousand pounds, the pasture lands in New England, at Moreton Bay, and in Victoria, afford ample room for the

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depasturing of flocks of sheep, of herds of cattle, and for the breeding of horses. But to ensure success, personal superintendence, business habits, sobriety and industry, morality, and personal religion, are indispensable.

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CHAPTER XVI.

ON TRANSPORTATION.

Transportation during the First Two Decades of the History of the Australian Colonies—During the next Generation—The Abuses of the System—Its Suitableness, as a means of Secondary Punishment.

HERE I will offer a few observations on the *quæstio vexata* of the transportation system as a means of secondary punishment. As this system was worked in New South Wales and in Tasmania, from 1790 until 1840, it was, both to the mother-country and to the infant colonies, the producer of much evil and also of much good. For some years the name of Botany Bay was the symbol of terror to the perpetrators of crime in England; and indeed the horrors of the passage, the hardships of a convict's life, and the severity of penal discipline, made transportation a punishment worse than death. These sufferings the convict endured during the first ten or twenty years of the history of the Australian Colonies. During, however, the second twenty years of their history, the condition of the crown prisoners in Aus-

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tralia greatly improved. The large increase in the amount and variety of colonial produce, the introduction of a more humane system of penal discipline, the indulgences granted to prisoners on their arrival at Sydney and Hobart Town, and the value to the government and to the settlers of the convict's mechanical skill and literary attainments, procured for many of them advantages such as they could not have obtained in a state of freedom in their native country. This change in the condition of the transported felon was communicated to their friends in England through the medium of letters; and the effect of these representations was to divest the punishment of transportation of more than half of its original terrors. Indeed, by no small number it was desired, and therefore to procure, at the expense of the government, a free passage to Sydney or to Hobart Town, felonies were in many cases committed, that the convict might have the opportunity afforded him to join his relatives and companions in Australia. This state of things naturally produced a large increase in the number of transportable offences. Hence the outcry against the system by philosophical philanthropists; and therefore, through the labours of Dr. Whateley, by means of the press, and of the late Sir William Molesworth in the House of Commons, transportation, as a system of secondary punishment, in-

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curred—first, the public censure; next, its condemnation; and ultimately, its abolition.

In my opinion, the evils resulted from the abuse of the system of transportation, not from any inherent want of its adaptation as a means of punishing the offenders of the law, and of preventing the commission of crime. I have arrived at the conclusion, from a large induction of facts, and from personal observation aud experience, that a system of transportation planned under the direction of wisdom, and executed under the influence of justice and humanity, would be highly advantageous to Great Britain and also to infant colonies; that it would relieve the mother country of an idle, a vicious, and criminal population; and afford to British dependencies the means of assistance in the development of colonial resources. Therefore, while it would relieve England of a rapacious and polluting population, it might, under judicious arrangements, transform, under the blessing of God, this rapacious and corrupting mass of human society into honest and virtuous members of a colonial community. The old system of transportation failed, first, through cruelty and inhumanity; and then through the influence of selfishness and false philanthropy. The brutality and corruption of the colonial authorities, the selfishness and inhumanity of the settlers, and the vices of the prisoners,

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produced social, political, and moral effects appalling to contemplate. But with the experience of the past century, the legislature might frame a plan, and the executive might carry it into effect, that would make transportation the most effectual punishment for secondary offences, a powerful preventive of crime, the best reliever of England from criminals, a friend to the colonies, and a benefactor to the convicts.

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CHAPTER XVII.

SECOND VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA.

The Bark Templar—A Description of the Passengers—Arrival at Madras—The Roadstead of Madras—The Catamarans—An Anecdote in regard to them—The Monsoon—A Digression on the Subject of the Cotton Supply—Arrival at Calcutta.

About the 7th of May, 1843, I bid adieu to Sydney, after a residence in the city and its suburbs of two years and four months; and I embarked for Calcutta on board the bark Templar. The accommodations and provisions in that vessel were much superior to those of the Drumnore, in which my first passage to the chief presidency of British India was made, though the passage-money was less by twenty pounds. Among the cabin passengers was a person, with his wife and four children, who having sunk a capital of considerable amount near Port Phillip in agricultural pursuits, was returning to Calcutta, where he had been in a commercial establishment, and where his better half had been born and educated. He was dependent on friends in Calcutta for the payment of his passage-money, and for a start again in

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life. There was also a bankrupt Sydney merchant, with his wife and her brother, who, having acquired a fortune in New South Wales, subsequently lost it and his commercial reputation through reckless speculation and extravagance in living. His proposed place of destination was Ceylon, where he intended to become a coffee planter. My other fellow passenger was a young surgeon, who having visited New Zealand and Sydney without having seen an inviting opening for practice, procured a passage to Calcutta as a remuneration for his professional services. When, however, I left the vessel, he was suffering from the influence of a malignant fever.

On our passage to Calcutta we called at Madras to land an old and infirm Indian colonel, who had been a passenger with me from Madras to Sydney in 1841 in the Sesostris, but who did not find Tasmania afford him the comforts necessary for an old Indian officer, who for fifty years had been accustomed to the luxuries of Indian society; he therefore returned to terminate his long and eventful life in the Presidency of Madras. This veteran was personally acquainted with the Indian career of the great captain, Arthur Duke of Wellington. He, however, on, I believe, personal grounds, spoke disparagingly of the Duke's military abilities; and by the utterance of calumnies vainly attempted to tarnish his

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fame. At Madras, we also left our Sydney merchant, and then, in imagination, a coffee planter. As the bark was in ballast, the captain applied to an agent to procure him a cargo to Calcutta; and to attain that object the passengers for Calcutta were detained in the vessel three weeks. While at Ennore, a place some eight miles east of Madras, the captain took in a cargo of salt. Having completed the loading of the bark, and returned to the Madras Roads, he took on board a stud of some twenty horses, the property of the newly-appointed Commander-in-Chief.

The Port of Madras is merely a roadstead; and it is exposed to the full sweep of the Southern Ocean. The influence of the westerly and south-westerly winds produces a succession of waves truly magnificent, and a surf which rises like a high perpendicular wall, sometimes twenty feet high, and breaks on the beach with great force. Under these circumstances it is often impossible to take in or to discharge cargo, and passengers attempt to land at the peril, and in some cases with the loss, of their lives. To effect, with the prospect of success, the landing of passengers and of cargo, boats of a peculiar construction, of large dimensions, and of great height at the bows are used. These are manned with ten rowers and a steersman, who guide the unwieldy craft with a long and strong oar. The passage

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through the surf is attended with danger; and to heighten the fears of the passengers, prompted by the hope of reward, the native boatmen, apparently under the influence of terror, row with all their strength, make a hideous noise and demonstrations of alarm; and when by their intrepidity and skill they have gained the beach, they, with importunity, ask money of the passengers to compensate them for the dangers they have braved on their behalf. These solicitations are made before they land their living freight.

The catamarans are objects of great interest to most visitors to Madras. This name is given to a boat constructed of three logs of wood, and it consists of one central log some twelve feet in length, and on either side of it is fastened a shorter and thinner log, which rises a few inches above the central piece of wood. By this arrangement a small cavity is formed within, in which the intrepid boatman kneels or stands, and with a single paddle, about five feet long and three inches wide, he supports himself on a raft, and directs it at his pleasure. The amphibious animals that manage these rafts are called Jack Catamarans. They are employed by the government and houses of agency in all weathers to take verbal and written messages to the vessels lying in the roadstead. In their endeavours to

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reach a vessel they are often washed off the raft, but with the agility of an equestrian regain their position. As the roads abound with large and rapacious sharks, the poor fellows at times fall a prey to those monsters of the deep; but the promise of a few *pice* or pence, prompts them to encounter these great and diversified dangers; and in general they succeed in attaining the object of their wishes. To me it was a most picturesque sight to witness the roadstead studded with catamarans, on some of which there were two naked men engaged in fishing operations; on others a man and a boy who, having succeeded in catching fish, sculled to the different vessels to procure customers; and on some of them there stood erect one naked man, urging forward his strong raft in the direction of a ship. These men form an acquaintance with the boisterous ocean, become familiar with sharks, and are at home on the catamaran from their childhood; and, therefore, no rage of the elements or ferocity of the sharks intimidates them. Indeed, when in his native element, Jack Catamaran often is able to elude the rapacity of the shark; for the shark, to seize his prey, must turn himself on his back, and while performing this semi-revolution, the intrepid boatman will dive beneath him, draw his knife from his girdle, and plunge it into the belly of the ferocious monster, and thus by his

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dexterity cause him to rise to the surface a lifeless carcase.

The following anecdote, in relation to this subject, I read some fifteen years ago with considerable interest: A boy, eight years old, the only son of a catamaran-man, was washed by the force of a wave from the raft into the sea, and a shark that was near the spot and saw the operation availed himself of the opportunity afforded to swallow the lad. His father, who was on the same raft, and with mingled feelings of grief and revenge, saw the catastrophe, leaped into the ocean, pursued the destroyer of his only son, dived beneath him, grasped his knife, rose towards the surface, and plunged it into the heart of the shark, and, having killed him, opened his belly, and took from it the body of his dead child. Though the father could not restore to life his son, yet he avenged his death.

The setting in of the monsoon at Madras is awfully sublime. It uniformly commences at noon on a particular day of the year. The heavens are clothed with blackness, the thunder utters a terrific roar, and the lightning spreads its broad sheets and displays its deadly forks. The wind elevates the surf, raises it into the air, and hurls it, with small fishes, on to the tops of the highest buildings. The rain descends in torrents, and deluges the surrounding country. The premonitory signs of the arrival of this

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phenomenon are the signal, in the roadstead, to the commanders of the vessels to weigh their anchors and put to sea to escape shipwreck.

To lessen the inconveniences of this roadstead it has been projected to construct a breakwater and pier. As in the Liverpool and Manchester markets the scarcity in the supply of cotton is annually more felt by the merchants, and especially by the spinners, to India their eyes are directed to furnish the desiderated supply. But to increase the facilities for the export of the Indian cotton, the erection of great public works in the roadstead of Madras are indispensable; and to effect the accomplishment of them, British enterprise and capital must be liberally supplied. As the demand for cotton increases yearly, and the supply is inadequate to the demand, the price of the raw material has gradually risen, until it has become so high that the spinners and manufacturers are afraid to invest their capital for the production of yarn and piece goods; therefore the deficiency in the supply of cotton affects the capitalist and the workpeople; for as the former cannot invest his money with the rational prospect of a suitable return for the employment of it, so the actual producers of manufactured goods have not full work. If this state of things continues for any length of time in Lancashire the evils arising from

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it will increase, and all classes of the community, not simply in the cotton manufacturing districts, but throughout the nation at large, will be injuriously affected, through the supply of cotton not being equal to the demand; I have no fears, however, for the result; for the apprehensions of capitalists and landowners, of manufacturers and merchants, of shipowners and politicians, of financiers and governments, will produce, in regard to the whole subject, an enlightened public opinion; and this opinion will generate a spirit of national enterprise adequate to the emergency. By this spirit of enterprise cotton will be raised, if the exigencies of the trade require it, in our West Indian and African dependencies, on the Continent of India, and in the Australian Colonies. Wherever good markets are to be obtained for British manufactures, English capital will procure the raw material, and Anglo-Saxon skill and industry will produce the required articles.

Having taken in our cargo of salt and freight of horses, with a supply of provisions and water adequate for man and beast, we weighed anchor, and directed our course for Calcutta, where we arrived about the middle of August, 1843. Between the ports of Madras and Calcutta nothing deserving of notice occurred, with the exception of the illness of the surgeon. On our arrival at Calcutta the

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passengers from Port Phillip obtained a hospitable and friendly reception from their Indian friends.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

AUTHOR'S LIFE IN INDIA.

His Private Life—His Humiliating Circumstances—His Episcopal Ordination—His numerous Engagements—Dr. Dealtry, the Bishop of Madras.

From August, 1843, to March, 1844, I resided in a suburb of Calcutta, in the enjoyment of domestic comfort and literary ease, when I took charge of the secular affairs of the old or Mission Church, and the depository of the Christian Knowledge Society. With the superintendence of those departments, and with literary pursuits, my time was fully occupied until May, 1845, when, after a period of eleven years, during which I had often officiated in the pulpits of Congregational Nonconformists; had acted as a government chaplain at Norfolk Island and in New South Wales; had joined Dr. Lang in his voluntary crusade; and had superintended a Sailors' Home, I received ordination as Deacon, at the hands of Dr. Wilson, the venerable Bishop of Calcutta. But my position under episcopal authority in India was by no means to be envied; for, by presuming to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's supper to a sick rela-

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tive before my ordination and Indian connexion with the Church of England, I excited in the bosoms of the lineal successors of the Apostles—the Tractarian party—feelings of holy jealousy and of godly revenge. Under their influence, though they failed in their attempts to prevent my ordination, they succeeded to exclude me from the only sphere of ministerial labour that was suitable to my clerical character, antecedents, and attainments; and, therefore, to procure the means of subsistence, I was curate to the archdeacon, and chaplain of the European Female Orphan Asylum; secretary to the Christian Knowledge Society, and secretary to the vestry of the old church; editor of the "Christian Intelligencer," and servant of all work to my friend and patron, Dr. Dealtry, then Archdeacon of Calcutta, after Bishop of Madras. As this personage has filled one of the chief offices in the Church of England in India, some account of his antecedents may not be unacceptable.

Dr. Dealtry was a native of the West Riding of Yorkshire, of humble origin, having a physical development strongly marked by coarseness and vulgarity; but the power of endurance and the strength of his constitution sustained him against the debilitating influences of a Bengal climate during the uninterrupted period of twenty years. Between about the years 1818 and 1825, he kept a private school

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at Rotherhithe, near London, and in connexion with the Wesleyan Methodists officiated as a local preacher. On the death of his first wife, who left him a widower with an infant daughter, he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, where he prosecuted his studies with industry and success; but, I presume, he left without a degree, and stood on the books as a ten years' man. Through the influence of the late Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, our aspiring widower procured a chaplaincy on the Bengal establishment, and about 1828, having been ordained deacon and priest, embarked for Calcutta. On the appointment of Dr. Wilson, in 1832, to the See of Calcutta, the rough Yorkshireman attracted his lordship's notice, and on the occurrence of a vacancy in the archdeaconry, the Rev. Thomas Dealtry received from his new patron that appointment. His sudden elevation, in connexion with his antecedents and the absence of external graces, roused the indignation of his clerical seniors in the Company's service. The disgust or jealousy produced by his elevation to the archdeaconry in the bosom of one of the presidency chaplains was so great that he retired from the service, and returned to England. From this time, until the archdeacon returned to England with a shattered constitution, on sick leave, in 1848, Dr. Dealtry served his patron, the government, and the church, with an amount of

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physical and mental energy seldom exhibited in the province of Bengal; and therefore on the occurrence of a vacancy in the See of Madras, through the retirement of Dr. Spencer, in 1849, the veteran chaplain was appointed to the vacant diocese. For a vigorous constitution of mind and body; for fully twenty years' experience in ecclesiastical affairs; for soundness in the faith, and an aptitude to teach; for his general talents for government, and for his great industry, zeal, and generosity, he was well qualified to fill the office of an Indian bishop. There were, however, some serious defects in his character. The absense of a naturally amiable disposition and of educational and cultivated refinement, and the presence of a coarseness in his manners, of a hasty temper and an imperious disposition, of meanness in little things, of occasional deviations from the principles of moral rectitude, and of the breach of promises and the keeping of his word; these defects impaired the moral beauty of his christian character, tarnished his official reputation, and lessened his usefulness.

In 1845, however, I inflicted on him a chastisement which he could not forget so long as memory performed for him her office. The circumstances that excited it are the following:—During my official connection with Dr. Dealtry, I performed the duties of a military chaplain; of chaplain

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to the European Female Orphan Asylum; and of curate to him, as chaplain of the Mission Church; of secretary to the Diocesan Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society; and of secretary to the vestry. To perform these secular duties daily I rode during the week six miles, and spent six hours a day in an office; and in addition to these regular labours, I had the charge of several funds, was editor of the "Christian Intelligencer," and frequently attended auctions to make purchases for my patron and incumbent.

In the opinion of Dr. Dealtry these herculean labours were not sufficient to task my strength, physical, mental, and moral; nor an adequate return for the pecuniary means of a bare subsistence; and therefore he demanded my attendance and labours during a fortnight, two hours a day, at a Church Grammar School. This, however, was the feather that broke the clerical camel's back; for the influence of a tropical climate at the most distressing time of the year, the great strain on my mental powers, and the general debility from which I suffered, provoked my spirit of resistance to his unreasonable and unjust requests, and I positively refused compliance with his last demand. At this refusal he exhibited his peculiar characteristics by the grossest personal abuse; and when I mildly retaliated, he

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employed his official influence to deprive me of my appointments, until I was left in a state of destitution. Hence, from November, 1845, to February, 1847, the whole of my receipts from him amounted only to some £15, and from all official sources not more than £50; and yet this vulgar and haughty churchman, this unjust and persecuting ecclesiastic, was constrained, by a sense of justice or the fear of exposure, during his residence in England, in 1848, to forward to a clerical friend a testimonial in my favour in these words—"Mr. Atkins is a man of evangelical and enlarged views, and he gave satisfaction in the appointments he held in India."

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CHAPTER XIX.

GALLERY OF LIVING PORTRAITS.

Portrait of Dr. Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India—Of the Earl of Ellenborough, the recalled Governor-General of India—Of Viscount Hardinge.

I WILL now give my readers a sketch of the character of Dr. Wilson, the Bishop of Calcutta, and Metropolitan of India. Daniel Wilson was the son of a city silk merchant; his father was a *Nonconformist*; and when our young hero was about to enter on a collegiate course of study for the Christian ministry, there was a family meeting held, at which the subject was discussed whether Daniel should go to Oxford and study for the church, in that ancient University, or whether the Independent Academy at Hoxton should have the honour of his theological training. The arguments adduced by the members of the Wilson family in favour of the Establishment and of Oxford prevailed over the advocates of Nonconformity and Hoxton; and the result was, that the youthful Daniel entered one of the

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Colleges at Oxford; acquired there some distinction for an essay "On Common Sense," and obtained his degree of B.A., and subsequently of M.A.

The chapel in Bedford Row—a late minister of which was the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel—was purchased by a member of the Wilson family, where Daniel officiated as the minister from 1808 to 1824. Then the vicarage of Islington was purchased for him, and he continued the vicar of that large and important parish from 1824 to 1832.

Among his friends at Bedford Row were the late Charles Grant, and his two eminent sons, Charles and Robert. The two Charles Grants, both father and son, took a deep interest in Indian affairs; and the former, while he held the offices of President of the Board of Control, and Chairman of the Court of Directors, employed his valuable and extensive patronage to procure for the presidencies of India chaplains possessed of evangelic sentiments, personal piety, and ardent zeal. Under the auspices of the Grants, India was blessed with the labours of Henry Martin, of Archdeacon Corry, and of Bishop Wilson.

In 1832 the See of Calcutta became vacant, and the younger Charles Grant, then Lord Glenelg, was an influential member of the Grey Administration; and there-

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fore, through his lordship's influence, his friend and late pastor, was raised to the Episcopacy, with the title and appointment of the Bishop of Calcutta.

From the formation of the See of Calcutta in 1814, to 1832, four bishops in succession filled that high and responsible office; but from 1832 to 1857, a period of a a quarter of a century, only one prelate presided over the See of Calcutta; and during the latter part of the time the veteran ecclesiastic was the Metropolitan of India. With the blessing of God, Bishop Wilson's life had been continued, through the influence of a vigorous constitution, moderation in the gratification of his appetites, his frequent residence at the hills, and his habits of activity and moderate labours. His theological learning was sound and extensive, and his personal piety deep and beneficially influential. By his pecuniary liberality, by his personal and official exertions to increase the number of chaplains and ministers of congregations, he has consolidated the moral power of the Church of England, withheld from the entire Episcopate the charge of covetousness, and shewn the possibility of a clergyman to become and continue a bishop without becoming the slave of avarice and personification of selfishness. Daniel Wilson, out of an annual salary of about £5,000, within twenty-five years devoted some

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£25,000 in aid of the erection of the new cathedral, and about £5,000 for the support of additional clergymen and of missionaries. Under the cathedral his vault was built, and in it his remains are deposited, to continue until the time of the resurrection of the just.

Though, however, Dr. Wilson was an eminent Christian and a distinguished bishop, a sound divine, an ardent patriot, and a true philanthropist, yet there were in his character some imperfections, arising from constitutional defects in his temper and natural disposition. He had not in his composition the amiability and christian courtesy of a Heber; the meekness and gentleness of a Corry; nor the general tact of some others of his predecessors in office. Therefore, through the influence of personal vanity or ostentation, through the infirmities of temper and of an arbitrary disposition, he did, on several occasions, expose himself to the contemptuous ridicule of such surface observers as the Earl of Ellenborough, to the censure of the admirers of politeness, and to the indignation of oppressed and persecuted clergymen. In proof of these assertions it is said that one of the standing jokes of the recalled Governor-General was, "that his second member of council was the greatest fool in India, except the Bishop of Calcutta."

As an instance of the occasional absence of christian

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courtesy in the behaviour of this eminent prelate, I will relate the following anecdote:—The bishop gave a dinner at his palace in Calcutta to the clergy and some friends. Among the invitations one was sent to Mrs. Major Atkinson. The card for Mrs. Major Atkinson was received by a Mrs. Atkinson, a professional singer and musician; and as that lady presumed that her professional attainments and celebrity had procured her so distinguished an honour, she accepted the invitation, and at the time appointed repaired to the bishop's palace. On the announcement of the name of Mrs. Atkinson the bishop received her with much courtesy, and at dinner she sat on the right hand of his lordship. The clergy noticed the episcopal attentions paid to Mrs. Atkinson; and in accordance with their habitual obsequiousness, endeavoured to please their diocesan by an enumeration of the qualifications of his fair guest. After dinner one of the officious and reverend gentlemen informed the bishop that Mrs. Atkinson could play on the pianoforte. On this information the lady was handed to the instrument, and by the exercise of her artistic skill gratified the musical taste of her right reverend host. Another chaplain told his lordship that Mrs. Atkinson could sing, and therefore, to afford the fair guest an opportunity to display the power and richness of her voice, and thereby to increase the

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delight of the bishop, Mrs. Atkinson sang. But the effects of her instrumental and vocal music attracted the particular attention of the bishop, and he inquired whence his fair guest had obtained those accomplishments; when, to his dismay and indignation, he first became apprised of the fact that the accomplished singer was not the lady of Major Atkinson, but a married professional singer. On this discovery, personal mortification and indignation assumed a temporary sway over his judgment and his heart, and under their influence the good bishop offered to the lady a personal, a public, and a gross insult, by asking her how she dared to come to his palace, by dismissing her from his right reverend presence, and ordering her from the palace. Thus a respectable female, whose only offence was that she lived on her professional talents, and had, through a mistake in the execution of the orders of the bishop, and through her own ignorance of the facts of the case, accepted the invitation; and who while at the bishop's palace behaved in a manner becoming her official and private character, received from his lordship treatment due only to intrusive and vicious behaviour.

One more incident illustrative of the imperfections in the illustrious character of Bishop Wilson I will relate:—On a certain day, an aristocratic name was, by his attendant,

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announced to the good but vain prelate, and the person having that name was immediately invited into the presence of the Metropolitan of India. He was graciously received by his lordship, and with great courtesy asked to be seated. The eminent and venerable Daniel of Calcutta was waiting with marked attention and peculiar interest to hear the object of the visit of his young friend of presumed noble blood, when, to satisfy the anxiety of his hoped-for patron, he said, "My lord, I have taken the liberty to wait on your lordship to ask you for a situation." Before, however, he had scarcely finished the sentence, the irritable and mortified bishop electrified his youthful visitor by uttering, in an excited manner and with an angry expression of countenance, these words: "Stand up, young man." He rose, as if struck by an electric shock. Then as, in the judgment of Dr. Wilson, their relative positions in society were properly adjusted, the bishop, with less excited feelings, asked the young man to read a passage from a volume which he presented to him; and having satisfied himself in regard to the ability of this aspirant to the bishop's patronage to read, he dismissed him with a promise, expressed in general terms, to remember him.

The defects in the character of his lordship, which were too frequently exhibited in rudeness and in violence, in

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ostentation and vain show, excite grief in his admirers and joy in his detractors; and they form a stumbling-block to the weak and an offence to the strong: so that Dr. Wilson, late the Venerable Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, distinguished for his theological learning and personal piety, for disinterestedness and liberality, for hospitality and philanthropy, was, through the influence of natural and acquired defects, charged with eccentricity and folly, with vanity and arrogance.

The next likeness in the gallery of living portraits that I will attempt to sketch, is that of the Earl of Ellenborough. When, in 1843, I arrived at Calcutta, his lordship was the Governor-General of India; and his contemptuous treatment of the Court of Directors, whose servant he was; his great and injudicious partiality for the military department of the service; and his uncourteous and unjust treatment of many members of the civil service, brought down upon his noble head the vengeance of the Directory, who, if I mistake not, for the first time during its executive existence, exercised its supreme power by the summary recal of the Governor-General. When that memorable order to the supreme council arrived in Calcutta, I resided in its vicinity, and the sensation produced by it was great and extensive. A short time before his deposition from the

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vice-royalty of India was publicly known, Lord Ellenborough took a house at Kidderpore, situate within a few hundred yards of my residence. This circumstance was mentioned in the daily papers, and various reasons were assigned for that act of his lordship. But, when his recal became public, all surmises ceased, and his reasons for the taking of a private residence were apparent.

Lord Ellenborough possessed a taste for the military art, and therefore was fond of display in the camp and on the battle-field. So ardent was his desire, not to "follow some warlike lord," but to be the leader of warlike lords and gentlemen themselves, that he often forgot to recognise his official character as a civil magistrate and the representative of majesty, and in imagination thought himself to be a Cæsar or a Napoleon. Hence, his ostentation and magnificence in the camp and on the battle-field; the magniloquence in the style of his despatches; his heroic act in the seizure, and his magnanimity in the restoration, of the celebrated Gates of Somnoth. If he did not construct public works of general utility; if he did not liberally contribute to educational establishments, and to the erection of churches, and the support of clergymen, he expended some £1,500 in the planting of trees, to afford a grateful shade to the troops, in several localities. It is true that

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Lord Ellenborough did not hold the church in much respect, and seldom attended the services of it in the public sanctuaries; that he held the bishop of Calcutta in contempt, and treated his person and character with ridicule; but, on the other hand, his lordship in general spent his Sundays in the camp and in holding a court; and held in great respect the religion of the Hindoos. In the opinion of the Court of Directors, his insatiable thirst for military glory endangered the stability, if not the existence, of our Indian Empire; and, to prevent such a catastrophe, his recal became indispensable to the safety of the empire. However, since his return to England, the military spirit has ever animated his bosom; and during the lifetime of the Iron Duke, when in military circles, or when he conversed on military affairs, the battles that he planned, the victories he won, and the conquests he made in India, were rehearsed so frequently in the hearing of his distinguished guests at his own mansion, and even when a guest at the mansions of his noble friends, that, on one memorable occasion, the great captain said to him, "Ellenborough, if I were to talk as much of my battles as you do of your wars, I should be voted a bore." What effect that seasonable reproof had on the amateur warrior I am unable to inform my readers.

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In the successor to the Earl of Ellenborough, the Court of Directors and the Supreme Government found a skilful and courageous general, and an able Governor-in-Chief. Sir Henry Hardinge arrived in Calcutta, I think, in 1844, and on a Sunday morning in 1845 I performed Divine service in Barrackpoor church. The Governor-General was one of the congregation, and the most attentive of my auditors during the delivery of the sermon. The simplicity of his manners, his devotional spirit and attention to the discourse, afforded me gratification; and his behaviour was exemplary to all under his authority. Soon after this occurrence, Sir Henry went to the frontier to watch the hostile movements of the Siekhs, and to frustrate their predatory designs. But I need not relate his acts of military subordination and noble daring; his skill and determination on the plains of Moodkee and Ferozshar; and the final triumph to which he contributed at the memorable Sobraon. Therefore, his eminent services on the battle field and in the camp, in the council chamber and in the general administration of the civil affairs of the Indian Empire, justly entitled Sir Henry Hardinge to the pecuniary and honorary rewards which have been granted him by the Queen and the Parliament. His title as Viscount, his pension for himself and for three

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successors of £3,000 a year, and his appointment to the command-in-chief of the troops in England, were the rewards of uncommon merit. May his successor in the peerage and pension emulate his illustrious father in every private and public virtue.

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CHAPTER XX.

ACCOUNT OF MILITARY CAMPAIGNS IN INDIA.

Runjeet Singh, the Lion of the Punjaub—His Military Power—The Campaign of 1839 to Cabool—The Reverses in 1842—The Sikh War of 1845—The Memorable Battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshah—Of Sobraon—The Effects of these Battles.

During both times of my residence in Calcutta important events occurred. In 1838 and 1839 the first campaign was prosecuted in Afghanistan. At that time the late Runjeet Singh, the Lion of the Punjaub, was at the zenith of his power, possessed of an army of 100,000 men, which consisted of a large and an efficient park of artillery, well trained under the direction of European engineers, and wielding a formidable battery of guns. The Sikh cavalry force was in efficiency next in importance, and that arm of the Punjaub army was large and powerful; it was commanded by Sikh officers distinguished for skill and courage. The infantry was the least disciplined, and the men who composed it were the least eminent for physical strength and courage; and, except when protected by the guns of

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the artillery and the swords of the cavalry, they were comparatively useless. Possessed of that military force, the Lion of the Punjaub refused to the commander of the invading army, under the authority of the Indian and the British Governments, a passage through his dominions. Hence, millions of additional money were spent; 40,000 baggage camels were purchased and employed; and immense quantities of provisions for the troops, rations for the horses and beasts of burden, and military stores, were carried several hundred miles across the desert. But the invading army surmounted all obstructions; it arrived at the boundary of the British dominions, traversed the passes, and encamped before the gates of Ghuznee. The impregnable fortress yielded to British science and courage, Dost Mahommed was deposed, and the hereditary sovereign was, by the power of the conquerors, restored to his rightful throne. For a short time, through the influence of the Commissioner, the late and lamented Sir William Macnaghton, and the enterprising and intelligent political agent, the late and admired Colonel Burns, the restored dynasty stood; but the imbecility of the general in command of the British contingent, and the laxity of discipline in his army, encouraged among the adherents of the fallen monarch the spirit of rebellion, which at length infused into the national

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mind a moral power that, for the occasion, overcame all resistance. The commissioner and the political agent were assassinated, the garrison was surprised and cut to pieces, and the ladies of the court and of the camp became captives to ruthless barbarians; the restored monarch was murdered, and his dynasty ceased to exist. The incompetent British general, with five thousand of his valiant troops, perished. To restore in Western Asia, and throughout the Peninsula of India, the prestige of the British power and the invincibleness of the English arms, in 1842 a second campaign was planned and executed. The passes were again traversed by British artillery, cavalry, and infantry; Cabool was reached in safety; the city was bombarded, the government buildings were destroyed, and summary vengeance was taken for the destruction of British life and influence at Cabool. Having inflicted that chastisement on an unresisting people and government, the invading force retraced its steps, to have its rear attacked and stragglers cut off, and its stores and baggage plundered by hostile tribes and mountain robbers. With, however, such casualties, the victorious and veteran campaigners regained in India British soil, and received a hearty welcome from the Governor-General and amateur soldier, Lord Ellenborough. Afghanistan was left to be governed in accordance with the popular

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will of the Afghans, or by the most successful of its chiefs; for having demonstrated to the tribes and nations of Central Asia the power of Great Britain, in arms and arts, a moral and physical barrier was raised against the advances of Russian ambition and invasion.

In 1845, the old Lion of the Punjaub and his immediate successor being dead, his widowed Queen, a woman of low origin, of a lustful disposition, and of a grossly immoral character, filled the throne of the Sikh country, intersected by the five rivers; and the heir apparent to the throne was a boy of some ten years of age. The Surdars governed the Queen; the pay of the army was greatly in arrears; the troops were refractory and unmanageable; and the government unable to meet the demands of the army, to escape the evils of a domestic rebellion through a rising of the army to demand their pay, the Sikh Court permitted, for the purposes of plunder and conquest, the invasion of the British territories; and therefore, about November, 1845, sixty thousand Sikh troops crossed the frontier, and invaded British India.

The Government of India, having been apprised of the pecuniary difficulties of the Sikh Government, and of the insubordination of the army, of its ungovernable spirit and rapacious intentions, concentrated an army of observa-

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tion along the north-western frontier. In the autumn of that year, to that place of observation the Commander-in-Chief, General Gough, and the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge, repaired. Scarcely had they arrived at the frontier when the hostile movement was made by the Sikhs; and to stop their predatory incursions, to protect British life and property, and to maintain our dominion in India, orders were issued from head quarters to despatch from the different stations bodies of troops. After a march of twenty-four hours' duration, and before the wearied soldiers could refresh themselves, the order was given to prepare for action. Sixteen thousand men were formed in order of battle in three divisions; and about twelve o'clock at noon they had to face the fire of the Sikh artillery from 120 guns of large calibre. Before the sun set on that memorable day, in the face of 120 pieces of cannon worked by skilful gunners, who were protected by an entrenched camp, hundreds of Sikhs deserted their guns, and a part of their formidable park of artillery fell into the hands of the British and Indian infantry.

That was the bloody field of Moodkee, in which 16,000 exhausted British troops, composed of European and native soldiers, with an inefficient park of artillery, successfully opposed 60,000 fresh and disciplined Sikh troops

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defended by an entrenched camp and 120 pieces of cannon of large calibre; for their well directed aim and murderous fire could not stop the progress of the firm ranks of British and native infantry; though in their onward march gaps were made in them, and their ranks were thinned, yet those intrepid warriors marched up to the muzzles of the Sikh guns in sufficient force to drive the gunners and to take some of the guns. Under that murderous fire some lines of British infantry did recoil, and by a deviation from the line of march, if not retreat, did attempt to avoid the threatened destruction, which act exposed them to the censures of some military critics, who were secure against the Sikh fire by the walls of fortified garrisons, the forts in the presidencies, and the watery and wooden bulwarks of Albion. But the conqueror of Napoleon, in his place in the House of Lords, defended the character of the British force at Moodkee.

During the succeeding night, although the British army was annoyed by the frequent fire of the enemy, and though numbers of brave men were destroyed through the explosion of mines, yet the Governor-General visited the different divisions, and by his presence and exhortations revived the spirits of the troops, and he urged them on the approaching day to avenge the death of their comrades.

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The success of the second eventful day justified Sir Henry's hopes, and fulfilled his predictions; for, on the plains of Ferozeshah, the European and native infantry resumed their attack on the Sikh guns and their entrenched camp, and before the sun again sank beneath the horizon about eighty of those formidable guns were in the possession of the English, the entrenched camp was abandoned, and the Sikhs had fled. Therefore, by the heroic deeds performed on those two memorable days, when the Sepoy vied with the British soldier; when he followed him in his career of glory, or fell by his side, the tide of Sikh invasion was stemmed, and it rolled back on to its own shores, not to fertilise, but to deluge the country.

The advantages of these two memorable days could not be fully secured immediately for the want of heavy guns and the storming train; and therefore some two months elapsed before the Commander-in-Chief was in possession of the requisite artillery and storming train to make the decisive attack. During the interval, that gallant and brilliant affair of Aliwal, under the command of Sir Harry Smith, took place, when the British lancers broke the squares of Sikh infantry, and completely routed them. But it was on the battle-field of Sobraon that all arms of the British forces, and all the divisions and

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contingents of the English army, gloriously triumphed; for on that decisive day artillery, cavalry, and infantry were irresistible. During the flight of the enemy across the river, thousands perished under the fire of the light artillery train. Indeed, in one short campaign of three months, after three general engagements and some partial encounters, the Sikh army of 100,000 strong, defended by some 500 pieces of artillery, an imposing array of cavalry, and a host of infantry, was three times decimated, deprived of its strong right arm, and its disorganised parts were scattered over the country. The empire that Runjeet Singh, by his skill, valour, and perseverance, had during a period of thirty years founded, was in six months dismembered and virtually destroyed. The provisions of the treaty of 1846 procured for the Indian Government the finest and most productive provinces of the Punjaub. Subsequent breaches of faith on the part of the Sikhs have justified the British Government in annexing the whole country of the five rivers to our Indian possessions. Hence some of the Sikh soldiers, who in 1845 crossed the frontier to plunder our territories, are now incorporated in our Indian army, and constitute some of the best troops in the native force. The Sikhs

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have proved their fidelity to the British in times of severe trial; indeed, they reckon it an honour to serve under the only power that ever conquered them.

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CHAPTER XXI.

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN INDIA.

The Mutiny and Massacre—Their remote and Proximate Causes—Their Present and Future Effects—The Mission of the English in India. The Influence of the Genius and Labours of Dr. Duff—The Failure of the Baptist College at Serampore—The Great Success of Dr. Duff's System of Education—Remarks on a Philosophical Education—The Rev. Dr. Boaz—The Rev. Dr. Yates.

Now, while I am writing, in June, 1857, a lamentable catastrophe has occurred in the North-western Provinces of India. Several regiments of native infantry, some of light cavalry, and of artillery, have broken out into open mutiny; and, under the influence of brutal infatuation, have committed ravages on human life and private property, on government establishments and domestic dwellings, which it is appalling to contemplate. But I have no fears in regard to the result. The insurrection will be suppressed, and the inhuman mutineers will be punished; civil and military reforms will follow; the British power in India will be consolidated and extended; and though both the supreme and local governmnets will continue to respect

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the religious prejudices of their native subjects, and will not employ the arm of secular or of military power to propagate the principles of Christianity, yet, under the blessing of heaven, the moral and spiritual influence of the circulation of the bible and of religious tracts and books; by the permeating influence of western and Christian literature; by the power of missionary and other schools, and the labours of Christian missionaries, these will change the scepticism of the educated Hindoos into rational belief, and the superstition of the masses of uneducated natives into a simple faith in the gospel of Christ Jesus. Therefore, this paroxysm I regard as the death-struggle of a worn-out and a dying system of polytheism, prompted by Russian intrigue, incited by a satanic agency, and inflamed by superstitious bigotry. But, "the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth"; and his beloved Son "shall have the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession." Hence, I doubt not, that the mutiny and massacre of May, 1857, will be memorable in British Indian history, for the numerous and diversified results of a beneficial kind which ensued to commerce and civilisation; to British arts and arms; and to education and the extension of spiritual Christianity. May the men of commer-

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cial enterprise, of scientific research, of philanthropic views, and of enlightened Christian zeal, improve the opportunities that a purified moral atmosphere will present in India. If the British rule in Hindostan shall be henceforth charactersied by justice and benevolence, by humanity and Christian sympathy, by material improvements and educational establishments, by the impartial protection of the inhabitants of India in the exercise of their religious convictions—but not in the use of state patronage for the extension of the Christian faith, much less for the support of a false, sanguinary, and impure superstition—the British power will exist and increase in India, until we have prepared, by education and Christian influences, the various tribes and races in that great, rich, and populous country to govern themselves, and to regard the English nation in the aspect of protectors; and this to the mutual benefit of Britain and to her Indian dependencies. It is our benevolent mission to give to India protection to life and property; to abolish by moral influence infanticide and the burning of widows; to consolidate civil government and to develope the vast resources of India; and thus to civilise and Christianise the 200,000,000 of human and immortal beings in India. May we have

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national and individual grace to fulfil our glorious mission.

In the preceding narrative I have mentioned the name of the Rev. Dr. Duff. His eminence, however, as a Missionary, as the Principal of the Free Church Mission College, as the founder in India of a new system of education for the natives based on Christian principles, as a scholar and a philanthropist, a man of genius and a master of eloquence, and as a philosopher and a christian, he is justly entitled to something more than a passing notice. When, about 1828, Dr. Duff arrived in India, under the auspices of the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, he found education among the natives in a very unsatisfactory state. The Mission Schools, established and supported by the Baptist, London, and Church Missionary Societies, were simply elementary institutions, superintended by inefficient masters, who included Europeans, Eurasians, and Natives; many of them destitute of personal piety, and some avowedly Hindoos and Mussulmans. Indeed, at that period of the history of Protestant missions in India, no small number of the missionaries of those societies were persons very imperfectly educated, and of natural abilities below mediocrity; and, therefore, with such instruments to educate and Christianise the inhabitants of British India, the prospect of success was not very promising.

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The Baptist Mission Society had, under the direction of Drs. Cary and Marshman, spent about £20,000 in the building of Serampore College; but when, in 1845, I visited that unfinished structure, I was informed that for some years, probably during a period of fifteen, it had been a refuge for serpents and jackals. The error was committed, and that large sum of money was wasted, from an ignorance of the principles of the philosophy of human nature. Those good men, but shallow philosophers, thought to fascinate the minds of the natives by grand architecture; but their folly was as conspicuous as that of the builders of the Tower of Babel. For professing Christians, who pride themselves on their scriptural views of doctrine, the simplicity of their forms of worship, and the spirituality of personal and denominational religion, to attempt to illuminate the human mind through the agency of matter, affords a striking and warning example of the inconsistency of professing Christians, and of the wide difference which too often exists, between their professed principles, and their habitual practice.

Dr. Duff, I doubt not, visited and explored the educational Babel at Serampore, and there, among the ruins of missionary folly, he, like Gibbon in the suburbs of the Eternal City, namely, modern Rome, formed the noble

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purpose to found an educational establishment worthy of his native country, and adapted to the exigencies of the people of India. Therefore, with foreign and domestic aid, his inventive genius, his comprehensive mind, his sound judgment, and his benevolent heart, inspired and sustained by a firm trust in God, he planned and executed a scheme of education, erected suitable buildings, and collected a library and philosophical apparatus; and that school, under his presiding genius, by the employment as professors in it of educated, pious, and devoted European missionaries of high moral and religious principle, and under them of well qualified assistants, European, Eurasian, and Native, the schools of the Church of Scotland had, in 1843, before the disruption of the Established Church of Scotland, eclipsed in reputation every other educational institution in India. For then, in that establishment only, were united in the principal and professors great intellectual power, and high moral and religious principle; and in the school secular learning and religious teaching.

Here I beg to offer a few observations on what is called a philosophical education. Superficial scholars and shallow philosophers often have on their lips the term *philosophy*; and therefore, in addition to natural and moral philosophy, they delight to speak of political philosophy, and educa-

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tional philosophy. But that which is philosophical must agree with the nature of the thing to which it applies. Hence the education of the human species must be conformable to the complex nature of man; and as humanity comprehends matter, intellect, and spirit—education, to be philosophical, must make provision for the development of the physical, the intellectual, and spiritual powers of man. Therefore, in infant schools, the system of instruction should be suited chiefly to the development of the physical faculties of the infants, in order to develope the first shoots of juvenile intellect, and to open the first buddings of the infantile heart. In the day school the same plan should be adopted, but with special reference to the expansion of the intellect, and to the cultivation of the emotional powers of humanity. To attain the first object of a philosophical education, gymnastic exercises are required; to accomplish the second, the mind must be disciplined by exercises in languages and mathematics; and to perfect the system of human education, the memory must be stored with facts in regard to profane, sacred, and natural history; the judgment must be exercised with respect to these important facts, and the reasoning faculties must be employed to analyse the facts, and to deduce from them legitimate conclusions. And here there is full scope for the exercise

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of reason and of faith. The legitimate province of the former is to distinguish truth from error in the universe of matter and of mind, in the volume of nature and in professedly divine revelations; and it is the province of faith to receive implicitly the truth, to employ lawful means to understand it, and having, by Divine assistance, interpreted the laws of nature, of Providence, and of grace, with submission and cheerfulness to obey them. The true philosopher, therefore, is the intelligent and consistent Christian; for, without personal religion, all pretences to the character of a philosopher, in the highest and most important sense of the term, are false; for a man may be a master in the art of gymnastics; he may have a profound, an extensive, and accurate knowledge of the physical sciences, and of moral philosophy; he may be a ripe scholar and an accomplished mathematician; and yet he may be destitute of the principles of true philosophy; and therefore be only partially educated. Man is an immortal being, and he must enjoy an immortality of happiness, or suffer an eternity of misery. But the highest part of his compound nature is depraved, and if the principle of depravity be not overcome by the influence of a superior and a Divine principle, his moral and spiritual corruption will increase in strength; and when, on the dissolution of the material part of his nature,

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he shall be freed from the external influences of education, of society, and of religion, his depravity will be fully developed, and he will possess the nature, he will fully imbibe the spirit, and suffer all the misery of a fiend: in Hades he will lift up his eyes in torment. Away, then, with merely secular systems of education, for they are inadequate to meet the necessities of humanity, and therefore are unphilosophical.

But to return to India. The influence of Dr. Duff's genius is now felt throughout British India. The success of his plans of education has modified the educational systems of the government; and the Baptist, London, and Church Missionary Societies have adopted his principles of education, and have imitated his scholastic establishments. Now, the Bible and "Butler's Analogy" have a place in the College Libraries; "The Evidences of Christianity" are studied by the students; and governors compliment native youths in embracing, on conviction, Christianity. The civil and military servants of the East India Company monthly give large donations to missionary societies; members of the presidential and supreme councils imitate their example; governors are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; and the Governor-General has not withheld his private contributions. Under these circumstances we can

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tolerate the piteous dirges uttered periodically by the re-called Governor-General, the Earl of Ellenborough; for we remember his habitual profanation of the Christian Sabbath in India, his lordly contempt of missionaries and of the Bishop of Calcutta, and his puerile zeal on behalf of Hindooism. But, to preserve his consistency, his lordship should renounce the Christian faith, and embrace the religion of Brahma. Consistency, however, is not an attribute of his character.

Leaving, however, an eccentric and a vain-glorious ex-Governor-general, I with much pleasure return from the battle-ground to the field of missionary labour, in order to review the Indian career of the Rev. T. Boaz, LL.D. About the year 1830, Dr. Boaz was a buyer in a wholesale nouse in the City of London; and to devote his superior natural talents and business habits to the work of the Christian ministry, he relinquished an offer of £500 a year. On his retirement from secular business, Mr. Boaz became a student at the Evangelical Institution of Newport Pagnel. There he remained, at his own expense, for two years, and devoted himself chiefly to the study of theology. The agreeableness of his person, his pleasing manners, the quickness of his natural parts, his familiar, if not original, mode of illustrating the Scriptures, his sincerity and

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earnestness of purpose, and his personal piety, procured him the esteem of his tutor, Dr. Bull, the respect of his fellows in the academy, and the favour of the congregations which he occasionally supplied. But the limits of a Congregational church were too confined for his burning zeal, ardent love, and enlarged compassion; and, therefore, to afford full scope for the exercise of the Divine and human emotions which animated his bosom, our young commercial Christian threw his whole soul into the Missionary enterprise. The high recommendations of his pastor and tutor, which shewed his disinterestedness, his general abilities and personal piety, induced the Directors of the London Missionary Society readily to accept his offer of service in the missionary cause, in connection with their truly Catholic society. The preliminaries having been settled, and our young hero having attended a course of medical lectures in London to aid him in the discharge of his missionary duties, he was, in 1834, publicly set apart by the imposition of the hands of the presbytery for the work of a missionary in one of the principal Independent chapels in Manchester, at that time the metropolis of Christian missions. On his arrival at Calcutta he became the minister of Union Chapel, and assumed the pastoral charge of the Christian society which in that chapel constituted the church of Christ.

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During the last twenty-five years, amidst many discouragements arising from the jealousy and envy of some of his brethren, the changes by removals and deaths of the members of his congregation and other valuable friends, and the division of his intellectual and physical strength by multiplied and diversified labours, Dr. Boaz has maintained a distinguished reputation for catholicity of spirit, for active and successful labours, disinterested and enlarged benevolence, and consistency of character. Indeed, though during a residence in India of fourteen years, he was a bachelor, and if he had been prompted by a mercenary spirit might have hoarded up some money, yet his love of hospitality and the generosity of his disposition consumed his pecuniary resources, and more than once left him dependent in some measure on the bounty of his friends. Out of twenty-five years, Dr. Boaz has been absent from India, and from his ministerial and other charges, only three years, and these were spent, not in recreation, but in arduous labours on behalf of the mission in general, and of the native college in particular. In March, 1847, at the request of his missionary brethren and friends, this missionary philanthropist came to England by the overland route to plead the cause of native education in Calcutta, and to raise funds for the erection and establishment of a native college. To

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accomplish these desirable objects £5,000 were required, and to incite the liberality of the friends and supporters of the London Missionary Society in England, Dr. Boaz obtained the promise of £1,000 from friends in India in aid of these objects. His own generous offer of £50, the important statements he made at the annual meeting of the society in Exeter Hall, and these supported by an earnest, natural, and persuasive eloquence, constrained the Directors of the London Society to vote from their general funds £1,000 in aid of the College. With the promise of £2,000—one from India and the other from the Directors in England—Dr. Boaz commenced his London and provincial tours, to advocate the cause of the mission in general, and of the college in particular. After labours, both public and private, in the metropolis, throughout the provinces in England, and by visits to Ireland and Scotland, which extended over a period of two years, this friend of native education, of civil and religious liberty, this patron of the arts, sciences, and literature among the millions of Hindostan, returned to Calcutta, having attained the object of his wishes, and with the rich rewards of his disinterested labours. The college has been erected, suitable masters have been appointed, a large number of native youths attend the classes, and the institution is in a flourishing

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condition. As Dr. Boaz has consecrated his life to the missionary cause, and especially to the civilisation and Christianization of the inhabitants of India, may his valuable life be for many years spared to illuminate by his clear intellect the dark mind of Hindostan, and to warm by his benevolent heart the moral and spiritual atmosphere of that interesting country. This eulogium is due to the character of a former friend, from whom I was separated through the influence of busy-bodies in other men's matters.

Before, however, I leave India, I must do justice to another eminent Christian and distinguished missionary, the late Rev. Dr. Yates, of the Baptist Calcutta Mission. Dr. Yates was during several years the pastor of Circular Road Church, and the minister of the congregation. His expositions of the Scriptures were characterised by beautiful simplicity and evangelical sentiment; and his devotedness, as a translator of the Bible and of school books, was beyond all praise. His devotion to the work of a Christian missionary, and his disinterestedness, were equally commendable. The Government of Bengal so highly appreciated his literary labours, that they offered him £600 a year for the half of his valuable time, to be devoted to the translation of school books; but so deep was his sense of personal responsibility, and so highly did he appreciate the

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value of the Scriptures, and recognise the importance of their circulation in the vernacular languages among the natives of India, that no pecuniary or honorary considerations could divert him from his glorious pursuits, in providing for the inhabitants of India an improved edition of the Bible in the Sanscrit and Bengalee languages. This martyr in the sacred cause of Christian missions, when informed by his medical adviser that to preserve his valuable life he must take a passage to Europe, exclaimed to a friend, "They have condemned me to go to England!" His native country, however, was not honoured to receive her distinguished son; for his disembodied spirit took its flight to paradise either before his embarkation or during his passage to England. I trust that the mantle of Dr. Yates has fallen on his successors in the Calcutta Mission.

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CHAPTER XXII.

AUTHOR'S LEAVE OF INDIA.

His Reflections—The Tractarian Party in India—Bishop's College —The late Archbishop of Canterbury—Passage in the Tudor— Office as Chaplain—Characteristic Sketches of the Passengers.

On the 7th of February, 1847, I took leave of Calcutta, in the suburbs of which I had resided since August, 1843, having during that period formed an acquaintance with Bishops Wilson, of Calcutta, and Spencer, of Madras. My official intercourse with these prelates afforded me additional opportunities to discover the defects in our present ecclesiastical system, and of the absolute necessity of episcopal and other reforms. During that second residence in Calcutta I had ocular demonstration and painful experience of the unscrupulous character, the insubordinate and domineering conduct, and the worldly and turbulent spirit of the Tractarians. But that God, "in whom our breath is, and whose are all our ways," has been pleased, in the exercise of his sovereign pleasure,

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to remove thence three of the most jesuitical and factious spirits of that Romanising party. During that period, Bishop's College and the Propagation Society's Mission, near Calcutta, were under the dominant and pernicious influence of Tractarianism. Indeed the spirit of heresy and of faction which prevaded those establishments so much tormented the spirit of the Protestant and evangelical Bishop of Calcutta, that there was required all the power of his episcopal office to prevent it from spreading over the diocese; and his personal and official. influence was unequal to exorcise that demon of error and faction. These evils in the government of Bishop's College and in the superintendence of the mission, his lordship, in complaining and piteous language, during his visit in England in 1845, communicated to the late Archbishop of Canterbury.

But a most reverend prelate, who was indebted for the Primacy of all England to his unscrupulous and censurable conduct in the House of Lords during the state prosecution of the unfortunate and lamented Queen Caroline, when, to please a king whose memory disgraces the dynasty to which he belongs, asserted "that a king could not commit a wrong, either politically or morally," could not be expected to feel or express much regret

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at the unsatisfactory state of a distant college or mission. Such a price of political and moral prostitution Dr. Hawley paid for the Primacy of all England; and that cold-hearted man, that perfect gentleman, that extravagant libertine, that heartless mass of human corruption, that ecclesiastical head of the National Church, who held supreme authority in the British dominions from January, 1820, until June, 1830, accepted the price offered by the unscrupulous ecclesiastic; and, by the exercise of the supremacy of the crown of England, raised his lordship from the throne of London to that of Canterbury. On the death, however, of Dr. Hawley, in 1848, the *Times* exhibited him for public and lasting execration.

The vessel in which I took a passage for London was the Tudor, a fine and strong ship of 1,150 tons register. There were on board the head-quarters of her Majesty's 39th infantry, designated "*Primus in Indis*," that distinguished regiment having been the first to perform service in British India under the supreme command of Clive. Our party in the saloon consisted of about five and twenty ladies and gentlemen, and included a colonel and his lady of the East India Company's service, on leave of absence to the Cape, the lieutenant-colonel of the 39th and his lady, the surgeon and adjutant and their ladies, three

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subaltern officers, and the quarter-master. We also had for the Cape an East India captain, his lady, and family. For England, Captain Smith, a descendant of Nimrod, who, having encountered a bear, Bruin took the liberty to shake him, not by the hand, but by the thigh; and his grasp was so tight that he broke the thigh of the captain. There was also a subaltern of the Company's service on sick leave. With this heterogeneous mass of human beings, to whom may be added the captain of the vessel and his lady, the surgeon, and the first and second officers, we left Calcutta for a passage of four months; and during that protracted period most of them were to meet daily at the table in the common saloon. During that time ample facilities were afforded me to study human nature, to mark the exhibition of individual character, the scepticism of the human intellect, and the depravity of the heart.

In the vessel I held a semi-official position, having engaged with the captain to perform the duties of chaplain during the voyage. In general I performed Divine service twice on Sundays, and read the burial service over the corpses of five soldiers of the regiment, who died during the passage.

The commanding officer was an admirer of Voltaire; and his scepticism, selfishness, and sensuality, fully entitled him

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to the honour of discipleship to the witty, profane, and selfish Frenchman. The ship surgeon was under his pupilage; and that young gentleman esteemed it to be a mark of manliness to express doubts on the subject of religion, and to defame the character of the professors of Christianity. The colonel and captain of the Indian service were gentlemen who reverenced the Christian religion, and observed its ordinances; appreciated the public services, and respected the ministerial office; and, therefore, the influence of their character in some measure neutralised the pernicious force of the character and example of the commanding officer. These gentlemen, with their families, we left at the Cape. where we took in the relict of an Indian colonel and an invalid barrister. During the passage I had occasion frequently to rebuke this infidel officer in charge of the troops, who was annoyed by my public defence of Christianity, against his sneers and calumnies; and I attacked his master, Voltaire, and exposed the selfishness, the sensuality, and the malignity of modern infidelity. For these reasons he watched me like a fiend to find an occasion to lessen my influence and insult my person; and, therefore, having escaped from the personal influence of the gentlemen who had left us at the Cape, he, one day while writhing under the sting of my playful sarcasm,

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violated the laws of courtesy, and tarnished his reputation as a soldier by grossly insulting a clergyman; and he gave expression, in the company and hearing of ladies, to language that would have disgraced a trooper in a mess room. This admirer of Voltaire, and disciple of Chesterfield, was Lieutenant-Colonel Wright, who has obtained an unenviable notoriety in New South Wales and Norfolk Island, and in British India, for his blackguardism, infidelity, and covetousness.

The regimental surgeon was a gentlemanly and an amiable officer, and his lady also was possessed of an amiable disposition. Both of them died under distressing circumstances soon after their arrival in England. The adjutant was a gentleman of religious principles, conscientious in the discharge of his official duties, and exemplary in his general deportment; his lady also was a pattern for the wives of gentlemen, for she esteemed her husband, and preferred his company to the attentions or gallantry of officious gentlemen; and she was assiduous in the performance of her domestic and religious duties.. One of the subalterns was the quintessence of vanity; and as I did not minister to his ruling passion, I became the Mordecai at his gate. He, in imitation of his commanding officer, on several occasions presumed to offer me personal insults, for

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my presence and influence with the ladies mortified his pride and wounded his vanity. But that young exquisite was rebuked by his commanding officer, and by the ladies by whom he wished to be admired, but had not the tact to please, or the art to conceal his foibles from their contempt. Even the ship's steward called him to an account. That young gentleman, who having left the medical for the military service, was named Lieutenant Currie.

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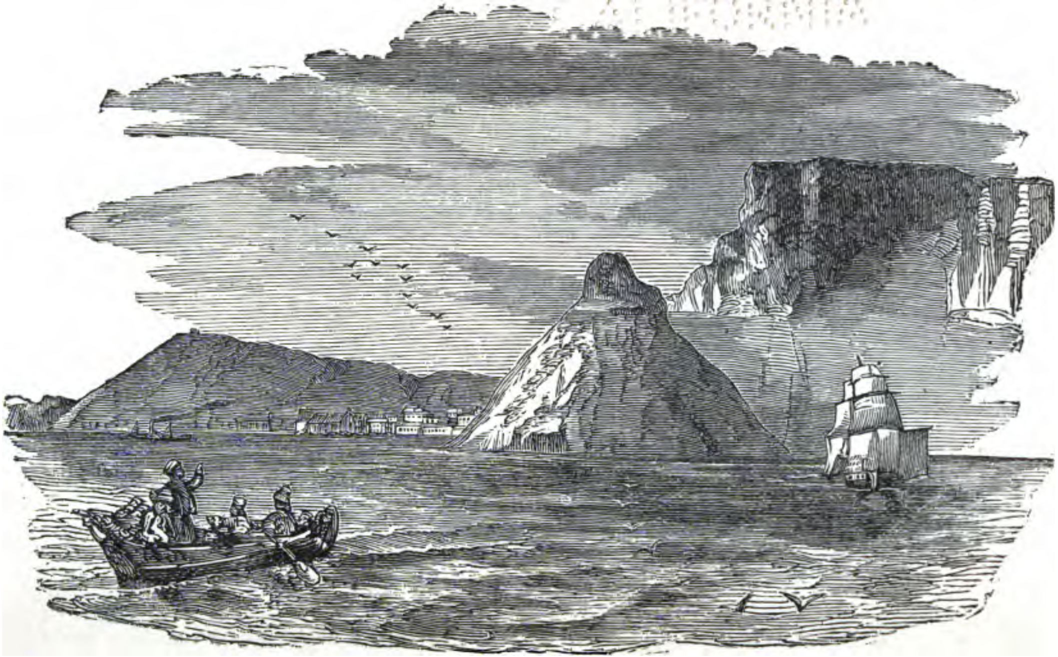

CAPE TOWN.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CAPE COLONY.

South Coast of Africa—Table Bay—Lands at Cape Town—Remarks on the Cape Colony—Its Comparison with the Australian Colonies—Preference for the latter Colonies—Reflections on the Colonial Episcopate.

After a favourable run of about six weeks from the Sand Heads, we sighted the coast of Africa, near the entrance to Table Bay. The cliffs were high, and in some places rose into mountains of from one to six thousand feet in height. The passage up the harbour, and in our case against a head wind, was dangerous; and once, under a lee shore, surrounded by lofty rocks and high cliffs, we were in momentary danger of being wrecked. As during several hours we tacked up the harbour in the direction of Table Bay, the different promontories stood before us in bold relief; and according to our relative positions, the Lion's Head, or the Lion's Rump, was opposite to our bows or beam. During our endeavours to gain the anchorage in Table Bay, the disciple of Voltaire, Colonel Wright, was in

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a very excited state, evidently apprehensive of the danger of his life. By his interference with the working of the ship, through the loudness with which he gave his orders to the soldiers under his command, who on deck assisted the crew, he greatly annoyed the captain of the vessel; and on several occasions that gallant soldier was requested not to interfere with the management of the ship. But, mistaking opposing Boreas for a Gwalior chief, and the deck of the Tudor for a battle-field in India, this mighty conqueror of the mutineers at Norfolk Island, of the convicts in New South Wales, and he who fell wounded in a charge against a wild tribe in India, was in a very unmilitary manner and costume, with excited looks and gesture, and with a stentorian voice, capering about the deck of the Tudor in an old brown great coat. However, in spite of the sinister influence of this son of Mars, Captain Laye anchored his vessel in Table Bay, about a mile from Cape Town.

The latitude of Cape Town is about the same as that of Sydney, both being in 36° south latitude. But, in respect to the magnitude, the grandeur, and commodiousness of the harbour of Port Jackson, Table Bay—the harbour of Cape Town--sinks into insignificance. Here are no safe and beautiful bays, no heads studded with villas and mansions, and but little fish of a good quality to make

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a course on a well-spread table. In size and importance Cape Town, in comparison with Sydney, is comparatively insignificant. In population Cape Town does not exceed 20,000, and therefore it contains only little more than a third part of the inhabitants of the metropolis of the Australian Colonies. Its insignificance, in respect to wealth and political importance, is equally apparent. But the geographical position of the Cape, as it lies between England and India, though not in the direct route, has given it a fictitious importance; for in the Colony of the Cape British troops have been acclimated for the Indian service, and it has formed an important depôt for British India. The civil and military servants of the East India Company have also found in it a valuable sanitarium; and while prosecuting their discoveries in geography and botany, in mineralogy and zoology, they have recovered from mental and physical debility, and have returned to their Indian labours stronger, wiser, and better men. In some of these respects, however, Australia has become a successful rival of the Cape Colony; and what is of great importance, the Australian Colonies afford greater advantages than Southern Africa for the investment of capital, and more numerous facilities to settle advantageously the younger branches of the families of East

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Indian civilians and soldiers; and also for their own retirement from active service.

However, the greatest point of inferiority of the Cape to the Australian Colonies is its foreign origin and present influence; for the Cape Colony, as many of my readers are apprised, was founded by the Dutch; it was, with the Island of Java, taken by the English during the great continental war, and when the British Government concluded a peace with Holland, the Island of Java was restored, but the Cape Colony was retained by the conquerors. The relinquishment of Java is now considered by statesmen and politicians to have been a political blunder; and in the despatches which were forwarded to the British Government by Sir Stamford Raffles from Java, in his official capacity of Governor, that distinguished officer and eminent statesman described the importance of Java, in a geographical and material, in a political and commercial point of view. Unfortunately, however, for the interests of the British Empire in the East, and for commercial enterprise; and also for the personal rights, the social comforts, the civilisation and Christianisation of the natives of that most fertile and beautiful island, the despatches of Sir Stamford Raffles did not reach the Government Office in Downing Street before the treaty of peace with the Dutch had been

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signed; and, therefore, to the British Empire, the finest island on the surface of our globe was lost, and in exchange for it we received in perpetuity the Cape Colony. But the number and extent of the privileges, personal and material, social and political, which the British Government granted to the settlers of Dutch origin at the Cape, secured to them and their posterity the most valuable portions of land within the limits of the colony; the establishment and support of their national religion; and the means of education for their children from the funds of the colony. Therefore, as the settlers at the Cape, of Dutch origin, have possession of the richest and most valuable portions of land within the boundaries of the colony; as, to a great extent, they monopolise the colonial funds available for the support of religion and education; and as their manners and tastes are alien from those of British settlers, I cannot recommend the Cape of Good Hope as a desirable home for large numbers of my fellow countrymen. The Australian Colonies are now equally accessible; they have a similar parallel of latitude, and have as salubrious a climate; the pasture grounds are more extensive, and the cattle and other property are freer from the attacks and plunder of predatory native tribes; and, in fine, the settlers are of British origin, the laws and institutions are British, and the religion

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supported by the Colonial Governments is the religion of the people of England, Ireland, and Scotland. To Australasia, therefore, the stream of British emigration should be directed. Hence, to form British Colonies, based on the principles of our own admirable constitution, and to enlarge the boundaries and increase the wealth of the existing Australian dependencies, settlers of British origin, and of Protestant, evangelical, and catholic principles, are invited.

When, in 1847, I visited Cape Town, there was no colonial bishop to preside over the members of the Church of England. That deficiency in the ecclesiastical polity of an Episcopal church was, however, soon after my visit there, supplied; and now there are three bishops, whose respective sees are Cape Town, Natal, and Graham's Town. These prelates, though on some occasions blinded by the pride of office, they may have ignored the colonial religion, and even the existence of colonists of Dutch-speaking and original descent, and of the Presbyterian form of church government, have been the means of concentrating the scattered elements of Episcopacy, of increasing the political influence of the English church, and of extending its ecclesiastical, if not its spiritual, power. But in general our colonial bishops have been chiefly employed in raising an ecclesiastical platform, on which, through their influence

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has been erected the scaffolding of a Christian and spiritual church. Indeed, a large majority of the colonial bishops possess no higher qualifications. Their zeal for the prerogatives of the Episcopate; their literal adherence to rubrical directions, and fondness of ceremonies; their advocacy of sacramental efficacy in the *opus operatum;* their hatred of rival sects, and persecution of the Protestant and evangelical clergy under their iron rule, have occupied their time, exhausted their resources, and consumed their energies. However, to the disciples of Hildebrand, of Laud, and Philpotts, there are, I rejoice to say, some honourable exceptions. Among them are the three bishops in India, two in Australia, and one in New Zealand. May the number of them be increased. And then, through the influence of a Bishop Perry, of Melbourne, not of a Dixon of Tasmania, the legitimate power of the Church of England will be extended in the British Colonies.

Dr. Colenso, the legal Bishop of Natal, having been deposed by the authority of the Metropolitan of Cape Town, and charged with heresy by the Convocation in the Province of Canterbury, I, on the 23rd of January, 1868, through the medium of the *Birmingham Gazette,* addressed to the Bishop of London the following letter on the subject of the Bishopric of Natal. And since that time I have

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read with much interest, and with great sympathy for Dr. Gray his able statement in regard to the history of the see of Natal. The perusal of that statement has greatly raised, in my estimation, the character of the Bishop of Cape Town, for gentlemanly conduct, Christian zeal, and ecclesiastical fidelity.

7, Bartholomew, Row, Birmingham,
January 23, 1868.

My Dear Lord Bishop,—Having read in the papers of yesterday's date your letter to Dr. Gray, the Bishop of Capetown, I feel it to be my public duty, as a Presbyter of the Church of England, of Protestant, Evangelical, and Catholic principles, to make and publish some remarks on that letter. In the spring of 1863 I read the first heretical volume published by Dr. Colenso; Henry Rogers' satirical defence, but able condemnation of him; and I heard two lectures delivered by Dr. Cumming, at Leamington, on that cowardly and dishonest conspiritor against our beloved Church, and of vital Christianity. Hence, under the influence of these united subjects, I wrote a letter to Dr. Colenso, who then resided at Kensington. In that letter I charged him with dishonesty, cowardice, and heresy. I told him that, by his published opinions, he had virtually forfeited his claim to the title and office of a Bishop of the Church of England; and I offered to maintain the truth of these grave charges by public discussion with him. To that letter, my dear Lord Bishop, I received the following reply:—

23, Sussex Place, Kensington,
June 6, 1863.

Sir,—I have duly received and read your cnmmunication, and doubt not that you are sincere in believing that you are doing God service by writing thus. I fear you little know what spirit you are of, and that you are not aware how truly you confirm that truth-speaking sentence—*all idolatries are intolerant.* But also, had you

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true faith in the true and living God, you would never write as you have done, but would rather say, "If this counsel, or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

Yours faithfully,
J. W. NATAL.

My Lord, in my letter to Dr. Colenso, I told him that as he had forfeited every spiritual claim to the designation of Bishop, I would never again apply it to him, and, hence in retaliation, his reply contains no recognition of my clerical character. Under existing circumstances, in the lamentable state of the English Ecclesiastical Establishment—though in your letter to the Bishop of Capetown, you assign five reasons with reference to the opinions of the Bishops, expressed in conference, and also in regard to ecclesiastical law—if, as you are aware, I had not, during the last thirty years, spent some twelve years in Australia, India, and America, whereby, in defence of insulted Divinity and of oppressed humanity, I have sacrificed at least £5,000, I would, if solicited, willingly accept the office of Bishop of Natal, and on my arrival in the diocese use every legitimate means in order to drive from the colony the *Apostate*, Dr. Colenso. And now, notwithstanding your official menaces against Dr. Gray, I am prepared to facilitate the consecration of a Bishop for Natal by every means that I, as a Presbyter of the Church of England, can lawfully employ; for, in my deliberate judgment, the composition and consequent indifference of Parliament, the timidity and worldly policy of the Bishops, and subserviency of the generality of the clergy, demand courageous and self-sacrificing conduct to be publicly displayed by independent clergymen, and by the laity, both of Churchmen and Nonconformists, on subjects of vital importance to our national Christianity.

Believe me to remain, my dear Lord Bishop,
Yours very faithfully,
THOMAS ATKINS.

The Lord Bishop of London.

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Having preached on Good Friday and Easter Sunday in one of the churches in Cape Town, I, on the following evening, returned on board the Tudor, and the next morning we weighed anchor, and proceeded on our passage to England. In addition to twenty-five cabin passengers, there were in the vessel about a hundred and fifty soldiers of the 39th regiment, with the wives and children of some of them, and a crew of about seventy men and boys; and therefore there were on board the Tudor, during a passage of four months, some two hundred and fifty souls. These, to a limited extent, were under my spiritual charge; but in the discharge of my official duties, I had no assistance, but rather hindrances, from Colonel Wright, the admirer of Voltaire and the disciple of Chesterfield. About the 10th of June, 1847, the vessel arrived at Gravesend, which place I had not seen since March 20th, 1836, having been absent from England in Tasmania and New South Wales, at Norfolk Island and Moreton Bay, at Calcutta, Madras, and Cape Town, and in traversing the Atlantic, the Pacific, and Indian Oceans, more than eleven years.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

VISIT TO AMERICA.

The Author's Passage to New York—His Residence at Brooklyn—Labours on behalf of the Negro Race—His active Sympathy with the Coloured Population.

On the 12th of December, 1860, I embarked, from Liverpool for New York, on board of the screw steamer, "City of Manchester," one of the fine vessels belonging to the New York and Philadelphia Steamship Company. For the half of a state room, and board in the saloon, I paid fifteen guineas. The table at breakfast, luncheon, and dinner was amply supplied with a variety of excellent dishes. The general arrangements of the vessel were good; and the officers were respectable and gentlemanly men. During a stay of two hours in the Cove of Cork a considerable number of steerage, and three cabin passengers, embarked. The latter comprised English, Irish, and Scotch; the Irish were chiefly from the Emerald Isle. The passage, which occupied sixteen days, was tolerably agreeable; and among

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the saloon company there were some persons of intelligence and gentlemanly deportment. Besides those mentioned we had in our company two Americans and one Canadian. The Americans exhibited the characteristic traits of their countrymen, influenced by national vanity and self-conceit.

On my arrival at New York, having, during the passage, thrice performed divine service in the saloon, I took up my abode at a small but respectable boarding-house, situate in Brooklyn. There, for three and twenty shillings per week, I had a well-spread table three times a day, a large front chamber, and the use of a good and well-furnished sitting-room: in addition to these I had the use of gas and fire. The family consisted of the boarding-house keeper, his wife, and two sons, with an average of six boarders. Their political sentiments were of the Democratic school, and before the attack on Fort Sumter their sympathies were with the South. The host, through his mother, was of French extraction; he sympathised with the first Napoleon, and consequently cherished vindictive feelings against the English Government, whose prisoner his hero was, until death, in the Island of St. Helena. The hostess, who had slave-holding relatives at Baltimore, hoping to convert me, induced me to read a sermon in defence of American slavery, preached and published by a Presbyterian minister of

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Brooklyn, whose name was Vandyke. But, having perused very attentively this discourse, which aroused my disgust and indignation, I offered, through the medium of a letter, to meet the reverend gentleman for public discussion on the subject. However, presuming that he regarded discretion as the better part of valour, this defender from the pulpit and through the press, of an unscriptural and inhuman system, declined to accept my challenge with this laconic reply: "From such withdraw thyself." This apostolic advice was certainly inapplicable to that particular case, as no connection had existed between us, except as Christian brethren. The sermon, which was publicly eulogised by the Democratic party in New York and Brooklyn, and which procured for its author celebrity throughout the Slave States, having stirred up my anti-slave sentiments, I advertised and delivered a public lecture against the unjust, cruel, and abominable system of American slavery, before the attack on Fort Sumter, and at a time when Henry Ward Beecher was afraid to denounce the terrible evil. But, though for an Englishman to attack American institutions was, by the Democrats, and even by some of the Yankees, viewed as an act of officious impertinence, and as a consequence my lecture attracted but ltttle attention and only a small audience, yet no interruption was attempted

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or opposition made during its delivery. The sermon of Mr. Vandyke was followed by the publication of an octavo volume of 300 pages, in defence of slavery, from the laws of nature, by a New York reverend doctor of the Protestant Episcopal Church. On this gentleman I called, having read his book, which contained a sophistical defence of slavery from the constitution of the laws of nature; for he evaded the argument from Scripture. During our interview I presented to him a programme of my lecture, and asked him, if he were willing, in public discussion, to take the negative side. To this inquiry he declined to give an answer, either yea or nay. However, he treated me with fraternal courtesy.

The next reverend defender of slavery was Bishop Hopkins, the Diocesan of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Vermont. This defence was in a letter originally addressed to a number of New York Merchants, who through the medium of a requisition had asked his views on the *quæstio vexata* of slavery. This authoritative epistle, preceded by the requisition with the names of the requisitionists, was published in the *Morning* and *Evening Express*. To that letter I wrote, at considerable length, a reply, and requested the editor of the *Express* to give it insertion in his paper. He refused compliance with my

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request, on the plea of want of space. Not daunted by that refusal I shewed my manuscript to the Editors of the *Tribune* and the *Independent,* both professedly anti-slavery papers, or rather republican journals.

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CHAPTER XXV.

VISIT TO AMERICA.

Author's description of New York and Brooklyn—His opinion of the Americans—Of their Institutions—The character of American Slavery—The State of Education in the Northern and in the Southern States—His Passage up the Hudson River—Albany—The Falls of Niagra—Western Canada—Toronto.

Brooklyn is a municipality of increasing importance in numbers and wealth. It contains a city hall of large dimensions, and several other important buildings, a public park, and churches for every denomination of Christians. The dock-yards for ship-building, and the wharves for the reception and the discharge of cargoes, and the port accommodation, both at New York and at Brooklyn, are of the most ample description. In 1861, the population was 300,000. Jersey City, which is separated from New York by the river Hudson, contained in 1860 some 30,000 inhabitants. It was at that period in an infantile state: I presume it is the chief city in the State. Newark, about ten miles from New York, in the State of New Jersey, has considerable manufactures, especially in coach-building, and in the making of

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harness. It contained about 40,000 inhabitants in 1860, and in proportion to its size and wealth possessed many of the characteristics of other American cities.

The sanitary condition of New York, with the exception of the Avenue, Broadway, and a few other public thoroughfares, was abominable. The streets were in a disgracefully filthy state, for, during the first three months of 1861, there were no public scavengers employed to clear away the filth which had accumulated through the great traffic, and the general exposure of domestic rubbish. However, notwithstanding this disgraceful state of things, a large amount of the municipal funds had been paid for sanitary purposes.

The domestic habits and social condition of the citizens of New York more resembled the Parisians than the residents of London and of large provincial cities and towns in England. Many gentlemen of the upper class of society permanently resided at hotels, and numbers of families of the middle class of society had apartments in private lodgings, and in boarding houses. This in a great measure arose from the indisposition of young women, both Americans and immigrants, to occupy the position of domestic servants. Hence there was a very inadequate supply in New York of qualified and respectable females, either of European or American birth, to procure as

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domestic servants. Indeed, the influence of the model republic, in removing the social distinctions in society, extends to the fair sex; and hence, the name of servant is repugnant to the feelings of the young females in the Empire City, and of its sister Brooklyn; for many of them aspire to public and private employment in municipal and government offices, in commercial establishments, and in manufactories.

So far as my observation extended I did not observe practised by the Americans much private hospitality and social intercourse. The men have clever business habits, and are, in general, strong party politicians. They do not congregate at coffee houses and at taverns for social intercourse, and to discuss local and general politics, but they have their own party daily paper, and read, eat, and drink in silence. Selfishness, rather than benevolence, rudeness than politeness, arrogance rather than modesty, are characteristics of the New York residents. The females do not cultivate the domestic virtues, but aspire to be intellectually clever, and many of them by mixing freely with strangers of the male sex, at hotels, boarding and lodging houses, have not the modesty and humility which generally adorn the character of respectable and well-bred women in English society.

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No small number, however, of the young ladies that I saw in New York, were not deficient in personal attractions, but they had learned from their fathers, brothers, and sisters the proverbial self-conceit of the American character. From four to five o'clock in the afternoon, the beauties of New York are to be seen promenading along Broadway, their persons decked with clothing made in the London and Parisian fashions. The American women, from their domestic habits, from their social customs, and from their travelling propensities, possess more self-reliance, and more boldness, than the general class of English ladies; but there is in them the absence of their delicacy of feeling, of their feminine refinement, of their exquisite polish, and of their humble sense of their natural weakness which constrains the latter to repose with confidence on the stronger sex. Hence, it may be a national prepossession, but, in the estimation of the author, the English christian lady is the most charming of her sex.

Now I will describe the character of the press of New York, and the political parties in the Empire City. In regard to the daily secular press, the *Herald* is the most popular; it has the largest circulation and is the most unprincipled paper of the New York press. It has no regard to consistency of principle, for true national honour

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and character, and no respect for truth and justice; but, to advance the pecuniary interests of its proprietor, it is ready to sacrifice both public and private interests, and pander to the worst passions and most vulgar prejudices of a lawless rabble and a murderous mob. The worthless proprietor, who is a renegade Scotchman, has been frequently horse-whipped, for infamous attacks on the private character of gentlemen.

The *Tribune* is the daily organ of the republican party. The respected Editor is Mr. Horace Greeley, a gentleman of literary attainments and of moral, if not religious, principles. In 1861, this journal ably supported, on principle, the policy of President Lincoln, in maintaining the integrity of the Union, and in opposition to the extension of slavery. During the first two years of the civil war, its views on the subject of slavery had undergone a considerable change. Its abolition principles had expanded into those of emancipation, and the enlightened and powerful influence of its respected Editor, had greatly contributed to form throughout the Federal States of the Union the emancipation sentiment.

The *New York Times*, another daily paper, appeared to sympathise with the confederates, so far, at least as to advocate the democratic policy, which is, to make to the

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rebels some concessions on the subject of slavery. The *World*, a daily Journal, had been suppressed by Government authority, through a suspected betrayal of the national interests. There were, in 1861, several other daily papers published in New York, but they were of minor importance.

Several of the weekly papers are partly secular, and in part religious, in their character. These are excellent family papers, and they are published under the auspices of the different denominations of professing Christians.

The *Independent* is the organ of the Congregationalists. Among the regular contributors to this hebdomadal are Mr. Horace Greeley, the Rev. H. W. Beecher, Mrs. Beecher Stowe, and other writers of American celebrity. These weekly journals have correspondents in the principal cities of Europe that communicate periodically papers of political, literary, and of religious interest. The circulation of the *Independent* is very large.

The old Presbyterian denomination publishes a weekly paper which exerts over their family circles a literary, a moral, and a religious influence; it is ably conducted and widely circulated. In 1861, its political principles were of a conservative character, that is, it was opposed to an interference with the institution of slavery. The *Independent*, on the other hand, had no sympathy with the peculiar

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institution, and it was ready to oppose its extension, and to advocate the abolition of the cursed system, with the advance of public opinion.

The Episcopal Methodists had two weekly papers, one the organ of the Conference, the other, independent of ecclesiastical control. The latter party published the *Methodist*, a valuable family paper, liberal in sentiments, evangelical in its principles, and ably conducted.

The Dutch Church denomination has a respectable family paper. The editor of it, in 1861, was the Rev. Dr. Porter, an influential clerical member of that religious body, and the minister of the Dutch Church in the city of East Brooklyn. This, before the attack on Fort Sumpter, was conservative in its principles, and, to a certain extent sympathised with the South. This journal, however, in, 1861, opened its columns to insert a series of papers against American slavery.

The Baptist denomination has two weekly papers, ably conducted and widely circulated.

The professedly Protestant Episcopal Church had, at the commencement of 1861, three weekly papers, which represented and advocated the views of the High, the Low, and the Broad Church parties. However, about April of that year, the High Church journal suddenly terminated its

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existence. This was the property of a semi-Romanist miller, who supported a chaplain that performed divine service daily in a small chapel in the building of his patron. The Broad Church paper is edited by a son of the Protestant bishop of the state of Vermont, Dr. Hopkins, of whom I will speak in the succeeding pages. The Low Church paper was conducted by a clergyman of eminence and of evangelical sentiments; and to its pages several distinguished clergymen regularly contributed.

The Roman Catholics had a journal to advocate their principles. The English residents also had their weekly organ, specially to represent British interests. This paper had a very limited circulation.

On my arrival at New York, among other objects which I proposed to accomplish, was the establishment of a journal, to be designated, *The Englishman in New York.* I was not then aware of the existence of the *Albion,* the name of the English paper. In the prospectus that I circulated, I purposed to defend the British Constitution against the misrepresentations of ignorance, of jealousy, and of treason. A copy of the prospectus I posted to Lord Lyons, who acknowledged the receipt of it, and recommended me to proceed with due caution. For I also stated in that document that I should criticise the institutions of

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the American Union in an impartial but a friendly spirit. At that time I was in comparative ignorance of the vanity and self-conceit, of the vulgarity and national arrogance, which characterise the citizens of the model Republic. Had I possessed this knowledge of the inhabitants of the Empire City, a courage bordering on presumption would have been requisite to attempt an execution of the proposed plan of the prospectus.

From an impartial review of the character of the New York press, though none of the daily journals are equal in ability to the London *Times* or *Telegraph*, yet the denominational organs are, in my judgment, superior, as family papers, to any of a similar class that are published in our Metropolis. They have, however, no secular weekly paper equal in talent to the London *Spectator* and the *Examiner*.

New York is the metropolitan city of Protestant Episcopacy. In this city the Episcopalians have landed house property of considerable value, and from the proceeds of which four ministers receive annual stipends of six thousand dollars, or £1250. There is a Bishop of New York; there are also about a hundred resident clergymen supplying as many churches.. Many of the upper classes are Episcopalians, and the congregations in the churches are large and influential. Their voluntary contributions for the

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support of the ministry, and for benevolent and religious institutions, are large and liberal. This denomination holds in greater respect the ministerial character, than any other of the Protestant parties. The ecclesiastical and theological views of the New York Episcopal clergy, exhibit the same difference of opinion as are too manifest among the clergy of the English Ecclesiastical Establishment; and their antagonism in personal feelings equally apparent.

The old Presbyterian denomination is a large, wealthy, and influential party. Some of their churches are magnificent structures, and the congregations liberally support their ministers.

The Baptist denomination is large and influential, but, in general, composed of the middle and lower classes of society. Their churches are numerous, and their zeal for the extension of their peculiar principles, is great, if not always judicious.

The Episcopal Methodist Church also is large, wealthy, and influential, and the constitution of this Church possesses several advantages over the system of Wesleyan-Methodism in England. For in addition to preaching and traveling Bishops, the Church recognises Presbyters, and stated ministers, who fill what are called stations. These in some respects are improvements on the English system of Methodism. Their influence over the German population,

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not only in New York, but in the Western States of the Union, is considerable, and very beneficial.

The Congregational body in New York and Brooklyn is comparatively small, but highly respectable; and several of their Ministers possess considerable ability, learning, and pulpit eloquence. They have been consistent friends to the African race generally, and to the oppressed slaves in particular.

The Universalists have several congregations in New York, and in Brooklyn, and some of their ministers defend their heretical and erroneous views, on the most important subjects of religion, with great ability and eloquence.

The Unitarians, or Humanitarians, are in New York, a small, but a wealthy, an intelligent, a philanthropic, and an influential party. One of their Churches, near Union-square, is a very fine building. This party has sympathised with the sufferings of the American slave, and with the African race. And one eminent minister of this body has taken an active and influential part in the sanitary reform of the northern army.

At the head of the Romish Church in New York, there is an Archbishop. The late Archbishop was Dr. Hughes, a native of Ireland. This erring, idolatrous, and persecuting Church, possesses, in New York large numbers, but

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they are chiefly of the lower classes. In 1861, I saw the foundation, and the lower part of the walls of a Cathedral, of large dimensions, to be erected with marble. However, then the building of the Cathedral was stopped for the want of funds. But of its present state I am ignorant.

The Society of Friends are in New York a small, but highly respectable body. There are two parties; the Evangelical and the Unitarian party. The former, with the peculiar views of the Friends in general, hold in substance the scriptural principles of the great Evangelical denominations in the Empire City, and throughout Protestant Christendom. These while they receive the Holy Scriptures, as the sole rule of faith and practice, believe that the special agency of the Holy Spirit is indispensable to the understanding and the hearts of men spiritually to understand the Scriptures, and to open the heart to receive into our spiritual nature the saving truths of the Gospel. The Unitarian Friends ignore the special agency of the Holy Spirit, and assert that the human intellect is sufficient to understand the Scriptures, and to reduce the truths of them to practice.

There is, however more difference in their theories of belief, than in their respective practices; for, during an attendance at the annual meeting of the latter party, I did

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not discover much difference in the character of the address of the speakers, who were female ministers, from the teaching that I had heard previously in the meeting house of the Evangelical or Gurney party. The Society of Friends, though a small religious body, exercise over society a great and beneficial influence. They were the only party in the northern and middle states, who freely emancipated their slaves. In general the northern slave-holders, when the employment of slave-labour became unprofitable on their estates, sold their slaves to southern slave-holders. The Friends emancipated their slaves. They not only support their own poor, but also liberally support philanthropic objects, and the charitable institutions for the African race, both in America and in Africa. They are indeed the moral salt of American Society.

The common schools sustained by the municipal funds in the state of New York are of a very superior description, and during my residence at Brooklyn, and my daily visits to New York, I frequently saw young females, from fourteen to eighteen years old, and of respectable appearance, going to and returning from these schools with a number of school books, evidently of a superior description. In these schools a useful education can be acquired at a small expense, with the exception of the price of the class books,

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and the value of the pupil's time. It is, however, probable that too often an advanced educational superstructure is raised on a slender foundation, through including in the course of education too many subjects. Now the foundation of a popular education should be reading, writing, and arithmetic; because a knowledge of these useful subjects is of daily value to all classes of the general community. These schools are generally established throughout the northern, the midland, and the western states. In these free states there are colleges in which may be procured a classical and a scientific education; and numbers of the youth of both sexes, who aspire to an acquaintance with the highest branches of literature and science, work part of the year at agricultural and manufacturing employment, also as domestic servants, and commercial clerks, in order to procure the means to defray the expense of an attendance on the classes at some distant college. For every young American citizen in the United States, of an aspiring disposition, fondly hopes to occupy the exalted position in the Federal Government, now held by General Grant.

However, throughout the slave states before the commencement of the civil war, in 1861, not simply by State legislation, were the owners prohibited to teach their servants the arts of reading and writing, but there were not many

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schools in which, at the public expense, the five millions of wretchedly poor white population could receive even the elements of education. Hence the youth of both sexes grew to maturity in brutal ignorance, in wretched poverty, and in social degradation.

The President of the United States at the commencement of 1861, before the secession of the Southern States, held the entire patronage of the civil, military, and naval departments. Therefore, on the accession to the supreme power of a President of republican principles, every Democratic holder of office in all the departments of the National Government, from the highest to the lowest, was liable to be dismissed from their public employments, to make room for the friends and supporters of the new President. As the President is chosen every four years, with every new President there may be a change of political parties, the fortunate recipients of Federal appointments have no security to hold their offices for more than that period of time. Hence, as much time and money may have been spent to procure the situations, there exists a powerful temptation to abuse their public trust by bribery and corruption, in order to make some provision for the future, in the probable event of the loss of office. This temptation is too powerful to be resisted by many official persons, who

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hold high and lucrative appointments in all the departments of the Federal Government, and especially those who held them during the last four years. Hence, by this wholesale system of bribery and corruption, millions of dollars have been stolen from the national exchequer. To a limited degree the same evils exist from the constitution of the States, and from the patronage of their governors. The practice of the peculation of public property, of bribery, and corruption is so commonly exercised, that it affects the general character of American political and municipal society, and exerts a demoralising influence over society in general. How superior, however, in these respects, both to advance public morality and to increase the national revenue, to promote tranquillity of mind and the pecuniary interests of government servants, in all the departments of the State, the British constitution appears, in comparison with the character of Federal and State employment in the model republic. For, under the British Government, with the exception of the heads of the State departments, a change of ministry, and the transfer of the seals of office from the Liberals to the Conservatives, or from the latter political party to the former, all the civil, military, and naval servants of the crown remain in their respective offices, and by the exercise of official ability and good conduct, have a

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rational prospect to rise in their respective departments, and, after a due course of honourable service, to retire on a pension sufficient to live in comfort during their declining years. Hence, the servants of the British Government have the most powerful incentives to pursue, in public and private life, an honourable and honest course of life.

An authentic and official report for 1860, on the "Vagrancy of New York," which I read with great interest, stated that during the last ten years the vagrant youth of both sexes, between the ages of five and fifteen, have increased from nine thousand to forty thousand. To remove this social evil the State legislature of New York passed, in 1859, an Act to provide, at the public expense, homes with board, lodging, and clothing, the means of educating, and ultimately suitable and profitable employment in the agricultural district in the Western States; but, mainly through the apathy of the public and the weakness of the Executive, that benevolent and necessary Act, in 1861, remained a dead letter. This is another serious defect in the constitution of the American republic; for, before the commencement of the civil war, Lynch and Mob law, in numerous instances, was stronger than civil law. Indeed, in the Southern States, the grossest outrages on the property and persons of respectable citizens were perpetrated

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with impunity, through fear of retaliation. In proof of these assertions the following evidence, during the residence for a few weeks at the London Hotel, Liverpool, in the autumn of 1855, was given me. There I met with several persons who had resided in the United States, and from a British tavern keeper, during six years, in the city of Saint Louis, I received these appalling facts, that, during this time some twenty murders had been committed in or near the city, but not more than three of the murderers had through a public prosecution, received condign punishment. He stated that, in general, the friends of the victim were afraid to prosecute, lest their lives should be sacrificed by the assassin or the open murderer. In those States the majesty of the law was not supreme, but lawless violence reigned. How different, however, is the state of law in Great Britain. Here human life is precious in the eyes of society, and the poorest and meanest person, has the broad shield of the law thrown around him. Hence, the murderer is so hotly pursued by the vengeance of the law, that in general, sooner or later, the violater of human life is certain to be overtaken. This protection of the law, and this zeal of the executive government, are not confined to respectable and wealthy citizens, but they are extended to the meanest and most helpless subjects of our beloved Queen. For, in

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1855, a murder having been committed by some unknown assassin, on the person of a poor vagrant, the Government offered a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds, to procure the apprehension and conviction of the murderer. This occurrence took place in Staffordshire, and near Wolverhampton.

The social and peculiar institution of American slavery is one of the most unjust and cruel systems of human bondage that ever existed among a professedly civilised and Christian community. The slaves of the Jewish commonwealth; the state of servitude in the ancient Roman Empire; and the serfdom in Russia, are not to be compared in barbarity and inhumanity to the system of American slavery, which up to 1864 existed in the United States of America. The municipal law of Moses, the Jewish law-giver; the cruel law of the Romans in regard to their remission of slaves, and of the treatment of freedmen; and the privileges of the Russian serf, are corresponding in their character, and are designed to facilitate the emancipation of the servile race; but in the professedly Christian States of the Southern Confederacy of the American republic, the slaves were deprived of almost every natural right. For, by the laws of the slave-holding States, the slaves were regarded, not as persons, but as

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things not possessing civil rights and social privileges, but as mere chattels and objects of merchandise. Hence, there were breeding grounds for them; husbands separated from wives, children from parents, to be sold by public auction, in separate lots, to be sent into different parts of the Union, never again to see each other. Instances are on record of slave-owners who had had sexual intercourse with their female slaves, for the special purpose of improving the breed of their slave stock. And others have repudiated the marriage rights of beautiful negresses, and regarded them as their legal property, and, for a course of years, treated them as their wives, but ultimately sold them to strangers. In other cases the heirs-at-law of slave owners have sold beautiful women and educated children, and have appraised their beauty and accomplishments, to enhance their value. However, the cries for Divine vengeance of these cruelly-oppressed men, women, and children of the African race, have entered into the ears of the God of Sabbaoth, and He has come out of His place to punish those professed Christians, but inhuman oppressors.

On my arrival at the Empire City, I purposed to attempt the accomplishment of two important objects, namely, the formation of a new ecclesiastical organisation, and the establishment of a journal to advocate British interests.

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The ecclesiastical organisation was proposed to unite the freedom of Congregationalism; the unity of Presbyterianism; and the subordination of Episcopacy. The plan of it I presented to the public of British birth, through the medium of the public press. However, I did not receive sufficient encouragement to prosecute the undertaking.

A prospectus of my proposed paper I sent to Lord Lyons, who advised me to act with discretion. This enterprise failed for want of public support.

The monster—American slavery—excited my virtuous indignation, and developed my principles of liberty. Therefore, I challenged to public discussion the Rev. Mr. Vandyke, a popular Presbyterian minister, of Brooklyn, on the subject of American slavery; and an eminent Episcopalian clergyman, of New York, who, in a volume of 300 pages, had defended the institution of slavery from the law of nature; and, in a pamphlet, I answered the published letter of Dr. Hopkins, the Bishop of Vermont. However, as an English anti-slavery advocate, I received but little sympathy and pecuniary support from American Republicans, anti-slavery men, or even abolitionists. These labours were gratuitous, or followed by pecuniary loss. Indeed, I lectured in public against the institution of slavery when Henry Ward Beecher was silent on the

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subject. Once, for giving expression to my views, I was threatened expulsion from a railway car, in Brooklyn; and at another time, near a quay at New York, I was, for similar cause, in danger of being thrown into the sea.

I preached gratuitously to the free coloured people of New York, and of Brooklyn, in Baptist and in Congregational, in Presbyterian and in Episcopalian churches. Also, my gratuitous services were rendered by preaching in the pulpits of Baptists and of Episcopalians of the Anglo-Saxon race. In addition, my services as chaplain were offered to a British legion, for the Northern army, that, in the spring of 1861, was in the course of formation at New York. This force, however, was not completely organised, through the intervention of international law. During an attendance of thirty times at the Fulton Street prayer-meeting, New York, I engaged in prayer and addressed the meeting some twenty times; and, after the attack on Fort Sumpter, I read there a paper in which I charged both North and South with the guilt of a participation in the unholy gains of slavery, and predicted that the Divine chastisements would not terminate till both North and South had repented of their national iniquities. This prediction has been fulfilled to the letter. However, among the different denominations of professing Christians, I found

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some sympathising friends, who encouraged me by their countenance, and aided me with some pecuniary assistance. And prominent among these friends was the Rev. Dr. Hawks, an Episcopalian clergyman of the most aristocratic congregation in New York. This accomplished gentleman treated me with the liberality, esteem, and confidence of a friend. He was a Virginian and a sympathiser with the South, and in consequence of his sympathies he has been obliged to resign his charge, has lost an influential position in society, and a large income. Now he has retired to his native State. However, though a sympathiser with the South, and, to a certain degree, an apologist for slavery, yet after I had published my reply to the letter of Bishop Hopkins, and had sent my friend Hawks six copies of the reply, his liberality of sentiment, and generosity of disposition constrained him to continue to me his friendship, and to aid me with pecuniary assistance.

In regard to the paper that I read at the Fulton Street prayer-meeting, which was regularly held from twelve to one daily, with the exception of Sundays, and which comprised an audience of several hundred persons of the middle and upper classes, in that paper I reviewed the history of the United States during the period of their independence of the British crown; I mentioned their rapid and progres-

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sive increase in numbers, wealth, and political influence; the unworthy returns that in their national capacity they had made to the Lord of heaven and of earth, the Divine source of their prosperity, by their pride and vain boasting, by their impious trust in material and intellectual resources, and especially, by their support and defence of the abominable system of their institution of slavery. As therefore, nations have no eternity like individuals, it is a part of the moral government of the supreme Majesty of heaven to punish Republics, and Monarchies, and Empires in their national capacity. Hence I asserted, that He had come out of his place to punish, by the infliction of His "four sore judgments of war, famine, pestilence, and noxious beasts," the inhabitants of the Model Republic. However, during the four years that, since the reading of this paper, have elapsed, a public debt of £500,000,000 sterling has been incurred; whole districts of the States, by invading armies, have been changed from fruitfulness to barrenness; thousands of the inhabitants in the Confederate States have been reduced from affluence to indigence; and it is probable that millions of human beings, the citizens of both North and South, have been sacrificed to the god of war. These judgments still are being inflicted, Mars has triumphed over thousands, famine claims her share of the

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human spoil, pestilence seizes a goodly portion, and the wild beasts of the forest and the carnivorous and voracious birds of the air increase and multiply by feeding on the unburied carcases of myriads of men who have been slain in sanguinary battles, or who have died of their wounds.

Before I left New York I several times visited Staten Island, situate from that city some six miles. On that island there are several settlements, studded with marine residences, the retreats of city merchants, and of other persons of wealth and influence. These residences consist of beautiful villas, and of splendid mansions of imposing architectural proportions, and in many instances furnished with costly and elegant furniture; private establishments containing every article of convenience and of luxury which wealth, science, and art can procure for the gratification of their wealthy residents.

About the last week in May, 1861, I left New York for Albany, the seat of government for the large and influential State of New York. The journey was performed in a river steamer up the Hudson, a distance of about a hundred and fifty miles, which, including a stoppage of some hours, was completed in sixteen hours. The Hudson is a noble river, and at New York it is as wide as the Thames at Gravesend. The scenery on either side much resembles English river

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scenery. Fine pasture land predominates, and indeed the quantity of hay grown in the State of New York yields a large revenue. Tuesday morning at eight o'clock our vessel was alongside the wharf at the State City. During the morning I called on eminent clergymen of the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations, and from each of them received a fraternal reception. I remained at Albany two days and one night, was hospitably entertained by a respectable Baptist minister, and on the Wednesday evening preached in his church. In this city there are the official residence of the Governor, the Legislature Halls, the Courts of law and justice, and the State Government Offices. Albany, in 1861, contained about 50,000 inhabitants. The streets and other public thoroughfares are spacious, the houses are large and commodious, and the churches numerous and of elegant proportions. Here reside, and exercise their ministry, clergymen of English reputation, and who are distinguished for their literary and scientific attainments.

From Albany I proceeded by rail to the Suspension Bridge which spans the Niagara River, and which there divides the United States from the British territory. The distance is about 250 miles. As I travelled during the night I paid an extra dollar for accommodation in a

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sleeping car, where I had a comfortable sleeping berth. The train arrived at the bridge about nine on Thursday morning, and the journey occupied twelve hours. The bridge has two crossings, one for the passage of the trains, the other for carriages and for foot passengers. The passage for trains is above that for carriages and pedestrians. I passed from American to British territory on foot. At each end of the bridge are placed custom-house officers, the representatives of the British and of the United States Government. From the British side of the river, the Niagara Falls are distant about a mile, and in Niagara city, and at these celebrated falls I spent seven hours. However, they combine the sublime, the grand, and the beautiful; and to the geologist, to the admirer of nature, and to the person of taste the Falls of Niagara are well deserving of a special visit. But my travelling arrangements limited my stay to only a few hours.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, I proceeded by rail from Niagara to Toronto, a distance, I presume, of about sixty miles. This is the Great Trunk Railway from the falls through Western and Eastern Canada. The railway between Niagara and Toronto, in many places, skirts the lakes Erie and Ontario. On the shore of the latter lake stands the city of Toronto. During five years, between

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1855 and 1860, it was the seat of the Canadian Government, and contained a population of 50,000. The removal of the seat of government to Quebec caused a decrease in the number of the inhabitants of 5,000. The surface of Toronto is a dead level; the air is in winter frequently foggy, through its contiguity to the lake, and ague is a frequent visitor. The winters at Toronto, for a Canadian climate, are comparatively mild; but in June, the time of my visit there, the heat was intense, and to my feelings very oppressive. Some of the streets are wide, and one, in outline and name, extends for eighty miles. During my stay at Toronto for five days I was the guest of the Rev. Dr. Caldicott, whose father, some sixty years ago, emigrated from Coventry, my native city, to Boston in the State of Massachusetts. The Doctor treated me with great courtesy, and on the Sunday I preached in his church in the morning, and in the evening in that of one of his brother ministers. Toronto is a fine city: it contains a University established on catholic and liberal principles, and several other public institutions of a literary and scientific character. There are also spacious public grounds for the recreation of the citizens.

From Toronto, in company with a clerical friend, I went by rail to a settlement about fifteen miles distant, where,

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after having preached to an attentive congregation, we stayed a night in the house of one of his friends. In the evening I performed Divine service in a small church, and as it was situate in an agricultural district the congregation came, some, in carriages from considerable and various distances. Through this settlement passed the outline of the street eighty miles in length. The settlement was in an infantile state, the population was small, and much of the primitive forest remained undisturbed.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CANADAS.

Woodstock—Springfield—Hamilton—The State of Agriculture in Western Canada—Lakes Erie and Ontario—The St. Lawrence —Montreal—Quebec—Passage to London.

THENCE I proceeded by rail to Woodstock. During three days I was hospitably entertained by the Rev. Dr. Pyke, the principal of the Baptist Theological College. On two of the days I attended there an annual association meeting of the district churches, and preached one of the association sermons. From the various reports of the state of the churches, which were read by the pastors of them, it appeared that in several cases during the last year, many of the members had withdrawn from a connection with the churches, or had been expelled from them.

On Saturday I accompanied, in a gig, a clerical friend to Springfield, an agricultural district, distant from Woodstock sixteen miles. This journey afforded me a favourable opportunity to see the country, and to form an estimate of the quality of the soil, of the state of agriculture, and of the progress in population. The soil appeared to be good,

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the farms in a partial state of cultivation, and the number of inhabitants proportioned to the state of cultivation. On Sunday I preached twice in the Baptist Church to comparatively large congregations. On Monday, in a church at a township five miles distant. On Tuesday evening at another small settlement; on Wednesday evening again at Springfield; and on Thursday at the place where on Tuesday I had performed Divine service. For the performance of these six services I received my board and lodging.

On Friday a friend drove me to Saint Leonards, a rising township, distant from Springfield about sixteen miles. I spent the night at the house of a highly respectable agricultural settler; the next morning proceeded in a gig to the town of Saint Thomas to perform Divine service in one of the churches. From Saturday until the next Tuesday I was hospitably entertained at the residence of one of the elders of the church, who kept a watchmaker's and jeweller's shop. This person had, for some time previous to my arrival, the pastoral charge of the church; but, in numbers and influence, the society and congregation had declined under his pastorate.

On the following Wednesday I returned to Springfield, partly by a public and, in part, by a private conveyance. There, in the house of an elder of the church, I remained

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a week. Thence, along a corduroy road, I travelled in a public carriage to the city of Hamilton, for the purpose of taking a passage by steamer for Montreal. Hamilton is situate on the shores of Lake Erie. In 1861, it contained a population of some 20,000. House property had, since 1857, greatly depreciated in value, and many of the houses were uninhabited. For during the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway, house and land property in the vicinity of the line, and especially near the principal stations, rose to a fictitious value, which, on the completion of the line, it did not maintain.

On Friday morning I embarked on board a fine lake and river steamer for Montreal, a distance, through lakes Erie, Ontario, and the St. Lawrence, of 300 miles. The charge for passage and table, including five meals and a night's lodging, was seven dollars, or £1 7s. 2d. During the passage of thirty-six hours, the vessel stopped to take in passengers and cargo, and to put them ashore, several times, principally at Toronto and Kingston. The passage was made in the month of June, or, in the first week of July; the atmosphere was clear, the weather was delightfully fine, and the scenery along the shore of the lakes was enchanting. About six o'clock on Saturday morning we passed through the Thousand-and-One Islands. The splendid foliage

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of the trees on the islands, and the smoothness of the lake, presented a prospect of the most pleasing description. Indeed, throughout my travels of 60,000 miles on the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Indian Oceans; along the Australian, the Indian, the African, and the American coasts; through Torres and Bass' Straits; up the Hooghly and Hudson rivers, no scenery that I have seen has excited within me the pleasurable emotions that the lake scenery of the Thousand-and-One Islands have. About seven o'clock on Saturday evening the vessel came to anchor at a wharf at Montreal. Montreal is situated on the bank of the St. Lawrence river. It is the largest and chief commercial city in Canada, and contains a population of from eighty to a hundred thousand inhabitants, four-fifths of whom are Roman Catholics of French descent, and by them the French language is generally spoken. Their churches are numerous and large, and their interiors are splendid. The French Roman Catholic Cathedral is a large and imposing building. Montreal is the see of a Protestant Episcopalian Bishop, and the Cathedral church is a small, but elegant, building. During my residence there of a week I had an interview with the Bishop and also with the Dean, besides conversations with several of the clergy. The Presbyterian denomination has several churches. The Congregationalists and

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Baptists are small in number and influence. At this commercial city terminates the navigation of vessels of large burden up the St. Lawrence from Quebec. The mercantile houses are large and respectable; and the merchandise received at this depôt of foreign commerce is distributed through the cities, towns, and townships of Western Canada.

On the next Saturday afternoon I took a passage in a steamer for Quebec. This passage occupied fifteen hours, the distance being a hundred and fifty miles. About seven o'clock on Sunday morning I left the steamer in search of lodgings, which I procured at a private house. The charge for board and lodging was three and a half dollars, or about 14s. 6d., weekly. At the city and port of Quebec I remained three weeks. The city consists of a higher and a lower part. The fortifications are very strong both by nature and by art.

The climate of Montreal, and especially of Quebec, is, during a winter of five months, excessively cold. Hence, in many of the houses of Quebec there are, as a protection against the cold, double windows and doors. During the long and severe winters in Lower or Eastern Canada, the navigation of the St. Lawrence river is suspended, and, therefore, the outward bound vessels leave the port of

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Quebec in October, not to return to it before the end of March.

The agricultural pursuits in Canada are obstructed from various causes. The rigour and length of the winter climate, and the shortness of the spring, and the intense heat of the summer are unfavourable to pastoral occupations, and to agricultural pursuits. For, in the winter, there is throughout the Canadian provinces, no pasture for the grazing of flocks of sheep and of herds of cattle. And through the continued coldness of the soil winter wheat perishes in the ground, and even spring wheat is an uncertain crop. The proprietors of farms of from a hundred to five hundred acres, seldom employ agricultural labourers, but, in general, limit their agricultural operations to an amount of labour procurable from members of their own family. In proof of these assertions I will mention some facts that came under my own personal observation. A gentleman, some twelve years ago, went to Western Canada to take possession of some 1200 acres of good agricultural land. During the occupancy of it for ten years, on stock and improvements, he expended £3000, and, at the expiration of the time, he sold the estate, stock, and improvements for the sum which, during his farming, he had expended on increasing the original value of the land.

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An immigrant settler, whose guest I was at Springfield for five days, the proprietor of 500 acres of land, had only 100 acres under his own superintendence, though he had three sons at home to work his land. And of the 100 acres, not more than sixty of them were cleared, and in a state of cultivation. The other 400 acres were let on clearing leases to as many as four different tenants. In three other parts of Oxford county, a few miles from Springfield, I, while the guest of proprietors and occupiers of land from 100 to 500 acres, observed that they cultivated their farms principally by the male members of their own families. Farming, indeed, even in Western Canada, on a large scale, and by the employment of paid labourers, does not make an adequate return for the investment of capital. Animal food, and especially fresh meat, appeared to be very scarce in the agricultural districts of Canada that I visited. Dried and preserved fruits formed a considerable part of the dietary sustenance of the settlers. And their general appearance during working days, at their homes, and in the fields was not superior to that of the English peasantry.

On, I think, the 1st of August, 1861, I left Quebec for London in the auxiliary screw steamer, the *Golden Fleece*. The scenery down the St. Lawrence, for at least 100 miles,

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is very picturesque. On either bank of this noble river there are farms in the possession of French Canadians; and the comfortable houses, the well-cultivated gardens and fields, presented the appearance of much domestic comfort, of clean and industrious habits, and of personal and social independence that gratified my benevolent feelings. No incidents of particular importance occurred during a long but agreeable passage of some twenty-four days; and about the expiration of that time the vessel safely arrived at Blackwall, where the passengers left for their several destinations.

FINIS.

Printed at the *Advertiser* Office, Edith Walk, Malvern.

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